

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
OF BIBLICAL HEBREW TEXTS

A Stylistics based on Systemic Linguistics
for Textual Analysis

by
Geoffrey Payne



PRESENTED FOR THE DEGREE
OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

1990

I and Pangur Ban, my cat,
'Tis a like task we are at;
Hunting mice is his delight,
Hunting words I sit all night.

'Gainst the wall he sets his eye,
Full and fierce and sharp and sly;
'Gainst the wall of knowledge I
All my little wisdom try.

Anonymous. Early Gaelic.

Declaration

This thesis is my original work and is of my own composition.

Geoffrey Payne

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

The thesis is written against a fairly recent background of dispute and acrimony centring on the analysis and interpretation of secular texts using either the long-established, literary-critical approach, or the newer, stylistics approach based on modern linguistics. Linguistic stylistics seeks to relate the observations of literary criticism rigorously to the linguistic infra-structure. The thesis sets out to test a form of stylistics based on systemic linguistics, a linguistics originating with J. R. Firth and developed especially by M. A. K. Halliday. It is ideally suited to the interpretation of all kinds of texts, because it is based on a semanticized grammar, i.e. it relates grammar to meaning and to social context and use. The thesis explores how the language of a text constructs meaning, and stylistics is offered as a methodology to evaluate the detailed data of linguistic analysis and to articulate the relationship between the given of a text and the intuitions of the reader. It does not eschew polysemy, which is of the very nature of texts, especially literary ones, and a major constituent in the pleasure of reading, but explores the limits set by the language to interpretation. I have applied it to a broad range of excerpts from Biblical Hebrew writings covering narrative, conversation, persuasion, and poetry. Stylistics is not meant to replace or subordinate other approaches, but is a preliminary and complementary method, demanding of the interpreter a serious regard for language.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Among the many people and institutions worthy of thanks, I mention the **Theological Faculty of New College** in the **University of Edinburgh** for considerable financial assistance, the **Scottish Episcopal Church** for a book grant and the **School of English at Birmingham Polytechnic** for various expenses; **Professor John Gibson** for assistance with the "sacred" aspects of the thesis, **Norman Macleod** of the Department of English Language for looking after the "profane" aspects and **Jinny Barnes**, the English Language secretary, who was tortured by my handwriting; **students of Edinburgh Theological College** who, subject to the methodology explored in the thesis, furnished valuable insights and **my former colleges** there, who kept a kindly eye on me; above all, **my mother** for her quiet, unfailing support, my loving bairns, **Meirionwen** and **Heulwen**, who knew when to be quiet and when to keep out of Papa's way, and **Elizabeth**, whose love and very practical contribution made it all possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page No.
Notes and Abbreviations	vii
 <u>PART I: INTRODUCTION</u>	
<u>CHAPTER 1</u> <u>The Context and Nature of Stylistics</u>	3
<u>CHAPTER 2</u> <u>An Outline of Systemic Linguistics</u>	25
 <u>PART II: THE ANALYSES</u>	
<u>FOREWORD</u>	50
 <u>SECTION 1: THE STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVE</u>	
<u>CHAPTER 3</u> <u>The Linguistic Shape of Narrative:</u>	55
<u>I Samuel 1-4</u>	
<u>CHAPTER 4</u> <u>The Linguistic Patterning of Narrative:</u>	99
<u>II Samuel 11-12</u>	
 <u>SECTION 2: THE STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF CONVERSATION</u>	
<u>CHAPTER 5</u> <u>A Structural Approach to Conversation:</u>	153
<u>Genesis 27:1-28:5</u>	
<u>CHAPTER 6</u> <u>An Ethnographical Approach to Conversation:</u>	177
<u>Genesis 23</u>	

SECTION 3: THE STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF PERSUASION

<u>CHAPTER 7</u>	<u>The Persuasion of The Preacher: the</u> <u>linguistics of inculcation: Deuteronomy</u> <u>8:1-11:1</u>	203
<u>CHAPTER 8</u>	<u>The Persuasion of The Prophet (a): the</u> <u>nature of prophetic discourse: Isaiah 1</u>	264
<u>CHAPTER 9</u>	<u>The Persuasion of The Prophet (b): the</u> <u>dialogic imagination: Isaiah 52:13-53:12</u>	301
<u>CHAPTER 10</u>	<u>The Persuasion of The Philosopher:</u> <u>transitivity and the construction of</u> <u>meaning: Ecclesiastes 1:1-3:9 and 11.7-12:8</u>	354

SECTION 4: THE STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF LYRIC POETRY

<u>CHAPTER 11</u>	<u>Human mortality (a): anguish coram dei:</u> <u>Psalms 90</u>	393
<u>CHAPTER 12</u>	<u>Human mortality (b): confidence coram dei:</u> <u>Psalms 103</u>	424

PART III: CONCLUSION

<u>CHAPTER 13</u>	<u>A Review of the Linguistic Stylistic</u> <u>Method</u>	462
<u>CHAPTER 14</u>	<u>Stylistics and the Methodologies of</u> <u>Biblical Criticism</u>	484
<u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>		506

NOTES AND ABBREVIATIONS

1. Bibliographical citations are by author and year of publication. Roman numerals preceding the citation refer to the appropriate bibliographical section and subsection, eg Ib Lyons (1970) is found in I Linguistics, subsection b.
2. Footnotes will be found at the end of the appropriate chapter.
3. Linguistic terms have been printed with a capitalised initial letter where ambiguity could arise, eg Goal (direct object of transitive verbs) v goal (aim).
4. The following transliterated Hebrew alphabet has been used:

' b g d h w z ḥ ṭ y k l m n s ^c p ṣ q r ś š t

Vowels are not normally transliterated.

5. Abbreviations are employed chiefly in tables where space was at a premium.

i dir obj: direct object

h: human

impf (yqtl): imperfect

impv: imperative

mat: material

men: mental

N: noun

pf (qtl): perfect

pl: plural

pp: prepositional phrase

ptc: participle

rel: relational

SVCA (in varying combinations): subject verb complement adjunct.

sing: singular

subj: subject

t: transitive

- ii +/- indicate the presence or absence of a feature.
- + indicates a feature is optional.
- ∅ indicates an unfilled position in the clause.
- is used to indicate clitics or morphological marking in the original where English has separate forms, e.g. she-saw.

iii VERSIONS

BHS Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensis: edition of the
Hebrew text used.

LXX Septuagint or Greek version of the ancient Hebrew
text.

MT Massoretic Text.

GN Good News Bible

JB Jerusalem Bible

NEB New English Bible

NIV New International Bible

RSV Revised Standard Version

PART I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTERS 1-2

CHAPTER 1

THE CONTEXT AND NATURE OF STYLISTICS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Criticism ... ought to have a hunger for a sound linguistics. Yet as no science can go beyond mathematics, no criticism can go beyond its linguistics (Ib Whitehall 1951, p.713).

This well-known dictum, quoted or referred to almost ad nauseam in discussions of modern stylistics, can be usefully regarded as marking the beginning of that species of stylistics rooted firmly in linguistics, a discipline, therefore, with a history of some four decades. I shall have more to say about Whitehall's claim when I discuss the stylistics and literary criticism debate. Suffice it here to say that the statement focuses on one of the key issues in the critical evaluation of texts in the latter half of the twentieth century: the rôle of modern linguistics. The salience of linguistics generally this century can be traced to Saussure (Ib, 1916) and his synchronic account of language with its progeny in structuralism and semiotics. Bateson (IIa 1967, p.54) describes the stylistics programme proposed by Fowler in the early sixties as 'an academic alliance between post-Saussurian linguistics and post-I. A. Richard's criticism', i.e. modern linguistics plus a New Criticism-type close-reading of texts. If we exclude New Criticism's dogma of the isolation of the text, this definition of Bateson's is a useful starting-point, for in

this thesis I propose to explore and examine the value of a form of modern linguistics in the evaluative close-reading of Biblical Hebrew texts.

Whitehall was concerned that criticism in English should have a strong conviction about the need for a sound linguistic undergirding. In Fish's words: 'Stylistics was born of a reaction to the subjectivity and impressionism of literary studies', or as he puts it more graphically a little further on, a reaction to the 'appreciative raptures of the impressionistic critic.' (IIa Fish 1980b, p.69). Since science has become the supreme model for heuristic objective investigation, it was inevitable that the methodology of literary criticism would be subject to the scrutiny of that norm. 'Impressionistic' is the charge generally levelled by those dissatisfied with traditional literary criticism, and such an accusation, though generally made by stylisticians, may be made even from within the camp, e.g. Hough (IIa 1969, p.42) in a survey of twentieth century stylistics and its value for literary criticism, admits that the latter at its worst is no more than 'a mere orgy of opinion'. I. A. Richards (IIb 1970) made a distinction between referential and emotive language, basically the language of science and the language of art; this was an attempt to develop an apologia for literary criticism and to set it on a disciplined foundation. His 'notorious' experiment in the critical reading of texts without any information about authorship, historical setting etc, was meant primarily to show how literary criticism lacked a rigorous,

well-defined methodology (IIB Richards 1929). However, for some it was not to be Richards's affective approach, but the scientific objectivity of linguistics and its apparent success elsewhere that suggested it as a cure for literary criticism's subjectivism. Here was a means of pinning down such vague concepts as style, motif, theme as well as Richards' notions of sense, intention, feeling and tone. But what about criticism in the biblical field? Should that too have a hunger for a sound linguistics?

1.2 BIBLICAL CRITICISM AND TEXTUAL INTERPRETATION

1.2.1 Until recently biblical criticism looked decidedly old-fashioned with its strong interest in authorial questions, the original setting, and the pre-history of the text; until the sixties biblical textual methodology was where secular literary criticism had been prior to New Criticism: strongly biographical and historical. Prototypical biblical criticism of this kind is exemplified in so-called literary or source criticism (sometimes the terms are used interchangeably; sometimes 'literary criticism' embraces a broader field of concern), especially as practised on the Pentateuch with its division of the story of Israel's origins into the sigla-designated sources J E D P. Clines (III 1978, p.7) designates this species of diachronic approach 'atomisation.' Close-reading of the text, a feature throughout the long history of Christian exegesis, was in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries done with a view to describing the

evolution of the text (it has been widely believed that a large percentage of biblical literature has a complex history of growth and editing). It is especially in commentary work that linguistics has been a perennial aspect of biblical interpretation: most academic commentaries will have varying degrees of linguistic description, e.g. the International Critical Commentary series (ICC) with its highly detailed linguistic comments, albeit chiefly on accident and syntax. Much of this linguistics has been of a nineteenth century philological kind with strong emphasis on the historical (etymology) and on the comparative semantic. (Often comparison is made with texts of widely differing dates, a practice common also with intra-biblical comparison). Barr has had much to say about the etymological and the comparative languages fallacies (biblical criticism has its fallacies too!). He highlights the folly of being too ready to import newly-discovered word-meanings into texts where the context should be allowed to be the controlling factor (III 1968). Another feature of biblical linguistics, represented in crass form by Boman (III 1966) who compares Hebrew and Greek thought using a kind of crude Whorfian view of language as reflecting diverse ways of conceptualising the world, is attacked convincingly by Barr who shows that a society's culture and modes of thought cannot be read off from the language in a simplistic way (III 1961). Returning to our earlier comments about biblical literary criticism, it is true to say that the interpretation of texts has been seen within the framework of the text's history (sometimes with the conscious/unconscious assumption that the starting-point of the

history of the text was superior theologically, because it brought one nearer the events through which, it was believed, the deity had revealed themselves). One of the major functions of linguistics was to help discover the history and ultimate origin of a text.

1.2.2 Biblical interpretation has now become increasingly synchronic. Very important for the introduction and encouragement of secular approaches and of experimentation has been the Society of Biblical Literature whose journal 'Semeia' contains exegesis featuring, for example, structuralist, reader-response, deconstructionist and feminist readings. Of especial interest is the emergence of a close-reading akin to New Criticism usually labelled rhetorical criticism'. This is particularly associated with Muilenberg (III 1969), and examples of it appear frequently in journals which, like 'Semeia', encourage a synchronic textual approach. Like New Criticism, rhetorical criticism is preoccupied with structure and pattern; a considerable degree of linguistic sensitivity is often evinced, though overall the method is not characterised by rigorous linguistic description. Muilenberg's commendation of rhetorical criticism rings like a New Criticism manifesto. The task of criticism lies in

understanding the nature of Hebrew literary composition, in exhibiting the structural patterns that are employed for the fashioning of a literary unit ... and in discerning the many and various devices by which the predication are formulated and ordered into a unified whole (III, quoted in Clines etc,

eds 1982, p.4).

There are many fine examples of this new critical-type reading of biblical books which evince sensitive handling of the text, e.g. Gunn's analysis of the story of Saul (III 1980) and Magonet's examination of structure and pattern in the Book of Jonah (III 1983). A veritable tour de force is Fokkelman's voluminous and hyper-detailed analyses of the Books of Samuel (III 1981; 1986). I shall comment on Fokkelman's methodology in the concluding chapter.

1.2.3 Elsewhere one finds awareness of the value of modern linguistics as in Berlin's 'The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism' (III 1985), an excellent account of biblical verse structure with a strong linguistic undergirding. Andersen's work (Ib 1970; 1974) is most noteworthy with its rigorous investigation of the relation between grammar and discourse meaning, which in the older standard grammars is treated only tentatively and in rather an ad hoc fashion. Significant is Hayes and Holladay's 'Biblical Exegesis: a Beginner's Handbook'. Although published as recently as 1982, the beginners who read it will remain in ignorance of the whole field of modern linguistics. The chapter entitled 'Grammatical Criticism' has an old-fashioned tone and the accompanying four and a half page bibliography is rich in books of a nineteenth-century type philological linguistics. It is in the field of Bible translation that modern linguistics finds its major ingress point, and noteworthy is the work of Nida (Ib 1964) and of Longacre.

Longacre's succinct interpretation of the Flood story (III 1985) and of the Joseph story (Ib 1984), using a linguistics attuned to levels beyond the sentence, demonstrates how valuable linguistics can be in a discourse approach to the text. Berlin's example of synchronic criticism of the early episodes of the Joseph story (III 1983, pp. 48-55), insightful as it is, could be married to advantage with Longacre's brand of discourse linguistics. One finds also an awareness of the wider issue beyond the meaning of an individual text: in Berlin's words, 'poetics makes us aware of how texts achieve their meaning' (ibid p. 17), and Barton (III 1984) in his conclusion to a book which reviews biblical critical methods, stresses the importance of understanding how we arrive at interpretations. I shall want to argue that stylistics can both evaluate interpretations of a text and help us reflect on the production of meaning.

1.2.4 The other major trend in the biblical world, and once again not rigorously linguistic, is structuralism. Whereas its secular counterpart has been much concerned to study the production or generation of texts and to show how meaning is manufactured, thereby demystifying meaning, biblical structuralism has tended to be a methodology for generating new interpretations and as such has concentrated on individual texts. These applications of structuralism can be very heavy, bristling with symbols and equations and not infrequently arrive at conclusions which hardly seem to justify the labour.¹ There is nothing which has the incisiveness and clarity of Barthes's 'Struggle with the Angel',

an analysis of Genesis 32:22-32 (III 1972), or the panache and daring of S/Z (IIb 1970), and, of course, Barthes's structuralism developed beyond the deep grammar of narrative, where there was ultimately a resting-point, to his anarchical practice of 'exploding' texts, a practice of the ultimate instability of all texts. Whereas biblical rhetorical criticism does at least focus closely on the text, biblical structuralism can easily lose itself and the text in its own complexity. It is ironic that the biblical world has seized on New Criticism and structuralism at a time when they have become passé among secular counterparts. I shall want to demonstrate that stylistics is strongly text-orientated and can also grasp the text's sociological and cultural position without, unlike biblical structuralism, committing itself to seeking new interpretations and without obscuring the text.

1.3 WHAT IS STYLISTICS?

1.3.1 We need now to consider precisely what stylistics is and how far the charge of subjectivism against a literary critical approach is valid. Stylistics is, of course, no new concept, and prior to the fifties there was an interest in investigating the language of a work and its effect. Bally's work was seminal (IIa 1951), and he sought to locate the effect of a text's style in the expressive components of words; words can have both a referential and affective element (cf. the well-known 'denotation' and

'connotation.'). Despite his work being strongly linguistic, it was very limited as the focus on the affective suggests. A modern linguistic stylistics would be interested in all aspects of a work's linguistics and of its linguistic effects. Another kind of earlier stylistics is seen in the work of Spitzer (IIa 1948); he too takes language seriously, and he has an eye for the linguistic device and for linguistic patterns; he is strongly intuitive in his approach and seeks to match intention with textual evidence. Modern stylistics, even in its eclectic forms, is strongly linguistic and usually rigorously so. Carter (IIa in D'Haen ed. 1986) distinguishes two basic kinds of stylistics: linguistic stylistics and literary stylistics. The former insists upon detailed, thorough-going linguistic description and seeks to relate literary intuition to linguistic data. The latter is less committed, using linguistics as and when necessary. There is some difficulty over terminology here: I prefer the term 'linguistic stylistics' to describe the methodology or praxis recommended in this thesis, since it draws attention to the linguistic nature of this species of criticism; however, there is a kind of linguistic criticism I would wish to dissociate myself from, namely that which considers exhaustive linguistic description as sufficient in itself, i.e. description replaces evaluation. Early stylistics tended to be of this nature. Witness Sinclair's 'First Sight' (in IIa 1966) and the work of the arch-practitioner, Jakobson.² Jakobson produces massively detailed analysis and highlights a vast number of alleged patterns which he does not seem to want to evaluate: the patterns themselves are the evaluation; in

Juillard's terms, the judgment of value and the judgment of existence are one and the same (in Ila Chatman and Levin, eds, 1967, p.81). Further, the alternative term, 'literary stylistics', apart from not making 'linguistic' salient, suggests that this form of criticism is suitable only for literary texts. I do not accept this and see linguistic criticism as appropriate for all kinds of texts. This has less to do with a belief that stylistics is flexible and universal than it has to do with my belief that there is no rigid distinction between literary and non-literary language.

1.3.2 I begin my definition of stylistics with a list of axioms essential to the practice of a linguistic stylistics, based on the Hallidayan-type linguistics, to be explained later. Then I shall bring out the essential nature of stylistics by examining the debate between the former and literary criticism.

1. Meaning is realised through the linguistic forms of a text.
2. Meaning is open to objective scrutiny and evaluation.
3. Meaning is a result of selection operating within the linguistic system, i.e. meaning is paradigmatic.
4. Meaning is multi-levelled (a) within the linguistic system, i.e. meaning is a complex of the grammatical and lexical and the phonological, and (b) within the extra-linguistic system

of the contexts of situation and of culture.

5. Meaning presupposes an indissoluble relationship between form and content.
6. Meaning is independent of the reader but requires the reader to intuit it in the linguistic patterns and forms.

In short, meaning is a process realised through author and reader, who are situated in a culture comprising a complex of potential meanings, many of which can be instantiated linguistically in texts. This process of instantiation of the socio-semantic will be explained in the description of systemic linguistics in chapter 2. Linguistic criticism attempts to relate the interpretation of a work to its linguistic form. The interpretation will have its origin in intuitions and hunches as in normal criticism, but the procedure thereafter differs in that whilst linguistic criticism will engage in linguistic description and the discovery of meaning-bearing patterns, literary criticism will operate at a supposedly supra-linguistic level.

1.3.3 Whitehall's claim³ and enthusiasm for linguistics have their origin in the success of structural linguistics in the USA at the time. Decades of Bloomfieldian maximal segmental analysis was now poised to bear fruit, and the work of Trager — Smith, which Whitehall was reviewing⁴, was among the first of the fruit: an application of structural linguistics to English stress

patterns. Whitehall seems to have been carried away by the brilliance of it all. However, it was with the conference on 'Style in Language' in 1958 in Indiana that linguistic stylistics mounted its first concerted attempt to establish itself as a competitor (or successor) to literary criticism. The tone of the conference is characterised by Jakobson's famous linguistic post-script with its

Since linguistics is the global science of verbal structure, poetics⁵ may be regarded as an integral part of linguistics (IIa in Sebeok 1960, p. 350).

This dictum is more radical than Whitehall's, since Whitehall's comparison suggests that just as science is not reduced to mathematics, so literary criticism will not be reduced to linguistics: the requirement is that it must make use of and be guided by linguistics. Jakobson actually wants to make poetics a component of linguistics. The Sebeok edited collection of papers from the 1958 conference, 'Style in Language' (ibid), became the first of many collections which sought to establish the credibility and respectability of stylistics. The opposition bristled at the claims of stylistics. Vendler disparaged the 1958 papers saying that the conference promised heroics and delivered mice! (IIa 1966, p. 457). Though showing some interest in the possible contribution of stylistics, she castigated the linguists 'who hanker after forbidden fruit', as 'beginning students,' 'under-educated in the reading of poetry', (ibid). Unkind and

polemical as these remarks may be, Vendler is absolutely right to insist that those who evaluate texts other than as pure linguistic artefacts, must be capable not only of sound linguistic description but also of critical, sensitive evaluation based on a developed response to different kinds of language. Bateson disagreed with Vendler, in a post-script to her review, that linguistics could be of any use to literary criticism, and in his debate with Fowler developed the following points in his argument:⁶

1. Linguistics is the science of language and is not concerned with values.
2. Literary criticism is evaluative and concerned with values.
3. Grammaticalness survives in literature only accidentally.
4. Literature is sui generis ('style unifying value of judgments').
5. Description and evaluation are diverging modes of speech.

In short, in literature language is a mere preliminary.

To the above points I want to add some more from Fish to enable me to outline better the stylistic position. Fish in two powerful papers, 'What is Stylistics and Why Are They Saying Such Awful

Things About It?', I/II (IIa in Fish 1980b) focuses on the problem area of description and evaluation. The crux of the argument is (I):

1. Structures and patterns do exist in literary works.
2. A descriptive grammar cannot attribute predictive meaning to them.
3. Stylistics should focus on the effect in context of the structures and patterns (a call for affective stylistics).

In II he 'overthrows' the stylistic task altogether:

4. The identification and description of linguistic structures and patterns is itself an evaluative process; stylistics can only evaluate the already evaluated.

The essence of Bateson's and Fish's counter-arguments centres on

description v evaluation

and in the case of Bateson also on

the nature of the literary work.

1.3.3.1 The polarity of description v evaluation is not in itself a bar to doing stylistics, other than the kind of stylistics for which scientific objectivity is claimed. All

description is necessarily evaluative. Halliday, for instance, will speak of the transitivity system of a language constructing reality, although we may not be aware of the cryptic function of this aspect of grammar, since the deeper levels of language become automatised. Now what lies at the root of the transitivity system is the notion that reality has to do with Processes and Participants.⁷ It is possible to account for these in another way, e.g. ergativity. Instead of conceiving of a Process originating with one Participant (Actor) and extending or not extending to another (Goal), we can think in terms of a Participant (Medium) realising in itself a Process whose origin may or may not be indicated (Agent) (Ia Halliday 1985 pp. 144-154). What is essential here is that there is wide agreement that there are linguistic categories of Participant and Process. We can argue about the ratio and distribution of Actors to Goals, or about the types of Processes in a text, and if, as within a language like English, it seems possible to conceptualize them in two different kinds of framework, it may be that one framework explains one text better than the other. There need not be and should not be a linguistic sleight of hand. We need only to be able to argue about possible ways of describing a text linguistically and relating our argument to the effects of the text. Freeman (IIa 1980) is worth quoting in his response to Patterson (IIa 1979), a debate about evaluation and description occasioned by his analysis of Keats's 'To Autumn', (IIa 1981).

If my grammar (is) predetermined by (my) understanding of the poem, it would follow (1) that the causatives, inchoatives, resultatives, instrumentals and transitives I find in the poem are my inventions and exist nowhere else in English grammar.... (IIa 1980, p. 249).

1.3.3.2 As regards the privileged, agrammatical nature of literary language, this belief is partly attributable to a sui generis view of literature. Yet the kind of language patterning and even envaluing of language found in literature is found in other kinds of language. There is no cut-off point, rather a cline with banal language at one end and literary language at the other (where according to Nowottny (IIb 1965, p.123) language works 'at full stretch'). The other major reason is a view of semantics which is weakly linguistic but strongly referential and projecting: words project the literary level effect. The stylistic response to this is not as with Jakobson, who virtually eliminates semantics: his linguistics is a non-semantic and self-referring, for the linguistic facts are sufficient in themselves; but rather we need a view of semantics which is strongly linguistic yet still referring, a semantics which the grammar expresses and of which the grammar is a delicate instrument because it has been shaped by the semantics. Systemic linguistics provides such a grammar and such a semantics.

1.4 STYLISTIC PROCEDURE

I now want to propose a procedure for stylistic analysis:

1. The stylistician should have a pre-understanding of the work, i.e. hunches about its meaning and drift derived from a sensitive reading. These hunches constitute a hypothesis to be tested.
2. The stylistician should undertake a detailed, systematic linguistic analysis of the work; (if practical, otherwise a selective analysis of a long work, which in itself demands an intuitive feel for the linguistically relevant passages which bear on the overall meaning). Sometimes the experienced stylistician will be able to spot where the linguistic interest lies and so short-circuit.
3. The stylistician must seek to match effect with description, intuition with linguistic material, and so close the gap between response and text.
4. The hypothesis and the linguistic data should mutually inform each other. (This is Spitzer's shuttle-cock movement from detail to centre of the work and back to the 'periphery' [IIa 1948, pp. 19-20]). The hunch will highlight aspects of the linguistic patterns and in turn will be modified.

5. Striking, linguistic features should not obscure the possible contribution of seemingly uninteresting linguistic stretches. All linguistic features are potentially relevant.
6. All aspects of literary theory and discourse theory are to be related to the linguistic infrastructure, i.e. the stylistician should assume that there are no aspects of the work floating in a separate, semantic stratosphere.

I am not claiming that this procedure results in a stylistics which is objective, purely descriptive and non-impressionistic. What it does result in is the possibility of public verification of interpretations, because it has a serious regard for language as the origin (not merely the medium) of literary and others effects.

1.5 STYLE

In this discussion of stylistics I have not as yet mentioned style, and deliberately. Definitions of 'style' abound, and the older stylistics was concerned with the analysis of style. Enkvist lists and discusses six conceptions of style and then adds his own! (IIa Enkvist etc. eds, 1964). Barthes (IIb 1971) sees style as a literary code, one associated with the great era of realist fiction, and so he aligns it with 'content' as one of the innumerable but privileged codes which constitute and naturalize a

text. Since stylistics is being seen here as the procedure for analysing all the language of all kinds of texts, and since a form of linguistics is used which views the language of the text as the result of selection (conscious choice not implied) from within the linguistic system of networks, the term 'style' is probably best kept in the background in view of this difficulty in defining it. As such, this form of stylistics tends to monism, i.e. form and content are inextricably linked. This approach does not preclude us from classifying texts according to the language used. The concept of Register⁸ (a notion of situationally constrained linguistic selection) can offer a broad and narrow classification of texts linguistically. It is possible to see all stylistic choices as cognitive in origin, and this obviously entails a weak view of synonymy; different forms in principle entail differing meanings. Even so-called lists of synonyms usually occasion discussion of nuances of meaning, especially with regard to the non-referential or connotative element. It must be borne in mind that work on lexis is not sufficiently advanced for us to identify the collocational and contextual constraints operating on a word.⁹ What is essential in this species of stylistics is that whatever stands in a text must be viewed against what could have stood here, i.e. which options in the language system have not been realised: why this form and not that? Thus meaning has a strongly structural component: the stylistician makes both paradigmatic and syntagmatic comparisons, but in a Hallidayan-type stylistics it is the selection or paradigmatic axis which is privileged.

CHAPTER 1

FOOTNOTES

1. The work of D. and A. Patte (III 1978) belongs to the 'bristling' with symbols type of structuralism; Leech and Aycock (III 1983), although not biblical scholars, have given examples of structural analysis which might be felt to be the ne plus ultra. Jobling (III 1978/86) shows a more accessible and readable variety. Some useful work on Hebrew narrative has been done by e.g. Culley (III 1976). The pedigree of biblical structuralism is to be traced to the usual sources, i.e. Propp, Greimas, Lévi-Strauss.
2. For examples of Jakobson's distinctive linguistic analyses see the analyses of Shakespeare's 'Th' Expense of Spirit', Blake's 'Infant Sorrow' and Baudelaire's 'Les Chats' (IIa 1981).
3. Quoted 1.1.
4. G. L. Trager and H. L. Smith jr, 'An Outline of English Structure' 1951, Norman, Oklahoma: Battenburg Press.
5. Jakobson defines 'poetics' in the previous paragraph as dealing with the question 'What makes a verbal message a work of art?'

6. The extensive exchange took place in the journal 'Essays in Criticism' in 1967-68 and is reproduced in a more accessible form in IIA Fowler 1971.
7. See Chapter 2.3.1.
8. See Chapter 2.4.
9. For an excellent, pioneering attempt to sketch some examples of lexis as 'most delicate grammar', i.e. an attempt to discern the constraints which privilege the selection of one item rather than a closely related one in a text, see Hasan (Ia 1987).

CHAPTER 2

AN OUTLINE OF SYSTEMIC LINGUISTICS

2.1 INTRODUCTION

There is no good reason why linguistic stylistics should be tied to a particular form of linguistics. Early stylistics often made use of the then promising transformational generative grammar.¹ Indeed, early transformational grammar seemed to offer an objective definition of style: style was a product of non-meaning changing transformations performed on the core sentences. Although that is no longer held,² the use of transformations to identify characteristics of a particular text was in itself not unuseful. It is a matter of interest to a stylistician to relate clause forms and to show what kind of relationship holds between them. Such a grammar served to demonstrate how like surface forms can differ at deep level and unlike surface forms have a common origin. Much stylistic work is now based on a different kind of linguistics: systemic linguistics associated with the Neo-Firthian school and especially Michael Halliday.³ It is this form of linguistics that I employ in the ensuing analyses and there follows an outline of its chief features. It is highly suitable for textual analysis. Hudson (Ia 1986) describes it as the linguistics for those who enjoy doing things with texts, and Halliday in an overview of systemic linguistics says:

Systemic theory is designed not so much to prove things as to do things. It is a form of praxis ... Systemic theory is

explicitly constructed both for thinking with and for acting with (Ia 1985a, p.11)

This practical concept of systemic linguistics resides in its sociolinguistic orientation. For Halliday language is a socio-semiotic phenomenon.

The social system is a system of meaning relations; and these meaning relations are realized in many ways, of which one, perhaps the principal one as far as the maintenance and transmission of the system is concerned, is through their encoding in language. The meaning potential of a language, its semantic system, is therefore seen as realizing a higher level system of relations, that of the social semiotic, in just the same way as it is itself realized in the lexico-grammatical and phonological systems. (Halliday quoted in Ia Butler (1985) p. 62).

This contrasts with the Chomskyan mentalist psychologism. As such, systemic linguistics easily leads from text to social context, and can result in a 'critical linguistics' which analyses the ideology of writing.

Halliday accepts with Saussure that language is constituted by two dimensions: the paradigmatic (or choice-axis) and the syntagmatic (or chain-axis). However, building on the work of Hjelmslev and Firth, he privileges the paradigmatic = system. Corresponding to

Chomsky's deep level is Halliday's system networks, an arrangement of all grammatical features in logical networks. Below is a brief summary of the paradigmatic-syntagmatic structure of systemic linguistics.

2.2.1 Syntagmatic or Chain-Axis

UNITS (stretches of language carrying grammatical patterns) comprise and are hierarchically arranged as

Clause (contains a verb, finite or non-finite)

Group⁴

Word

Morpheme

Units have STRUCTURE and most important here is the structure of the clause: S(subject) V(erb)⁵ C(omplement) A(djunct). Hierarchical arrangement or RANK permits the notion of RANK-SHIFT, i.e. a unit of higher rank operating at a lower rank, e.g. a clause at group level functioning as subject = noun clause.

2.2.2 Paradigmatic or Choice Axis

CLASS accounts for the fact that certain items will operate in recurring patterns at certain points in the structure, e.g. the nominal class comprising nouns, pronouns, adjectives operates at group level at the structural nodes 'subject' and 'complement'.

What is EXPOUNDED at points in the structure is determined by the SYSTEM, the controlling concept of systemic linguistics, hence the name. The system of a language comprises a finite number of networks with entry conditions, e.g. mood, transitivity, from which selections are made. Selection is a term to describe the process by which the text comes to instantiate meaning. It is not primarily predicated of the conscious language—user.

2.2.3 Herewith a simple example (clause and group analysis only).

lll wyybr' ll 'lhym ll et h'dm ll bšlmw lll
and created God humanity in his image⁶

lll clause boundary ll group boundary

Structure VSCA	V = Verbal Group	:	Verb
	S = Nominal Group	:	Noun
	C = Nominal Group	:	Noun
	A = Prepositional Phrase ⁷	:	Preposition+
	[Nominal Group	:	Noun

Each of the items in the clause is the result of a series of selections from a great number of networks, e.g. 'created': tense, transitivity, mood, voice networks. The path through a network to the ultimate stage will result in an item described by a number of increasingly delicate features.

2.3 THE METAFUNCTIONS

What distinguishes systemic linguistics is the strong sociological component: language is a social product.

The human being is a field of experience in which life process is being maintained in the social process. (Ia Firth 1968, p.13).

The grammar of a language is not arbitrary but natural, i.e. language has evolved the way it has because it has been shaped by the uses to which it has been put. Halliday stresses this time and again. Here belongs Halliday's seminal notion of the METAFUNCTIONS. These are not themselves specific uses of language, but are the organising factors of the lexico-grammar: they are the archetypal functions of language to represent reality (the IDEATIONAL⁸), to relate language-users to one another and to their utterances (the INTERPERSONAL), and to create coherent discourse (the TEXTUAL). They are essentially socio-semantic, and they are inherently involved in all uses of language.

The hypothesis - as embodied in the term 'metafunction' - is that there is a relationship between the form of the grammar and the semiotic construction of the culture as instantiated in particular situations. (Ia in Steele etc, eds, vol 2, p. 612).

Halliday inherits from Firth the latter's multi-levelled concept of meaning. These levels are linguistic and extra-linguistic. We can represent them thus.

DIAGRAM 2.1: LEVELS OF MEANING



The metafunctions are neither purely semantic nor grammatical: they are best seen as having a relational or interface function. (Halliday over the years has vacillated in the placing of them). In Diagram 2.1 the semantic component is shown as a discrete component in the meaning hierarchy. This is an oversimplification, for in systemic linguistics semantics is really a dispersed notion. It is certainly not the slot where word relations, philosophical implications, and above all meaning are primarily located and discussed. Some of the traditional areas of semantics appear under 'lexis' in systemics, e.g. cohesion or word relationships. It is significant that in an essay where Halliday explores the semantic system (Ia Halliday 1973), the title chosen is 'Towards a Sociological Semantics', and the sketched semantic network corresponding to the lexico-grammatical networks (ibid p. 74) is purely sociological:

parental control of a child. Halliday's term 'socio-semiotic' is probably less misleading than the use of the traditional 'semantic'. Selections from the semantic networks for a specific situation determine selections from the lexico-grammatical system (worked out in some detail for the grammar but work on lexical sets, which are of an open nature opposed to the closed nature of grammatical networks, is still embryonic). The metafunctions enable a person to use language in several ways simultaneously: all language has content (ideational), modality (interpersonal) and thematic arrangement (textual). Grammatically the metafunctions cover the following main areas:

<u>Ideational</u>	Transitivity (Participants, Processes, Circumstances); tense; modification; lexical content.
-------------------	--

<u>Interpersonal</u>	Mood/Modality; person; attitude; lexical expressiveness.
----------------------	--

<u>Textual</u>	Theme-Rheme; Given-New (information structure); voice; deixis; conjunction; lexical collocation, cohesion.
----------------	--

Using the example at 2.2.3 again (clause-level analysis):

	wyybr'	'lhym	et	h'dm	bşlmw
<u>Ideational</u>	Process: Material	Actor	Goal	Circumstantial: ⁹ manner	
<u>Interpersonal</u>	Finite(past) + Predicator \ / MOOD	Subject	Complement	Adjunct ¹⁰	
<u>Textual</u>	Theme	←	Rheme	→	

2.3.1 Ideational

This is the function by which we construct reality. It processes the phenomenon of social and physical reality as transitivity, a feature not necessarily of the verb (as traditionally in the analysis of highly inflected languages such as Classical Greek and Latin), but also of the clause. Important for an understanding of a Hallidayan-type stylistics is the semantic classification of inner and outer rôles = Participants and Circumstantials, and of the verb Processes. Examples are given below with the Participant rôles typically associated with the verb (in another form of linguistics this would correspond to valency).

TABLE 2.1: PROCESSES AND PARTICIPANTS

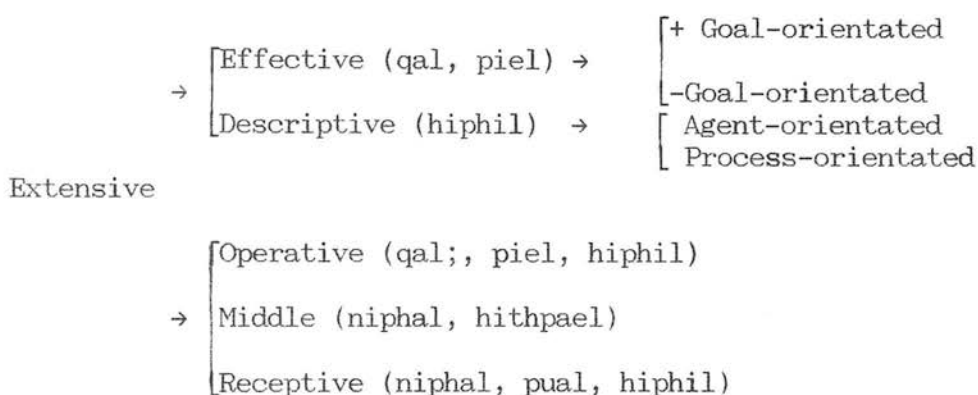
VERB:	PROCESS	PARTICIPANTS
<u>br'</u> create	<u>Material</u>	Actor, Goal, Recipient; Beneficiary
<u>ʂ^cq</u> laugh	<u>subclass</u> Behavioural	Behaver
<u>yd^c</u> know <u>ʔ^hb</u> love <u>r'h</u> see	<u>Mental</u> Cognition Affection Perception	{ { Senser, Phenomenon {
<u>'mr</u> say	(Mental) <u>subclass</u> Verbal	Sayer, Message, Recipient
<u>yš¹²</u> <u>'yn¹²</u> there is/ is not	<u>Relational</u> ¹ Intensive Circumstantial Possession (Relational) <u>Subclass</u> Existential	{ { Carrier, Attribute { Existent

There is some difficulty with the notion of 'Participants'. The number of them and the terminology for them varies greatly such that Huddleston in his recent grammar of English (Ib 1984, p.191) despairs of them and puts the notion aside. However, the concept is too useful an analytic tool to abandon. The number of Participants depends chiefly on how delicate one needs to be to capture nuances of meaning in a text. Thus Goal can at times usefully be subdivided to distinguish between a Participant to whom/which something is done: Patient, and a Participant which is produced as a result of the Process (object of a factitive verb): Result. Likewise, in a work where there is a high proportion of inanimate Actors, 'Force' could be used; otherwise we could use a cline of Agency with + animate/+intentional at one end and - animate/-intention at the other. I shall be rather promiscuous

here, using the labels best suited to bring out an aspect of a text.

Below is given part of a general network for transitivity as an illustration of a network at ideational level.

DIAGRAM 2.2: TRANSITIVITY NETWORK



I have included the Biblical Hebrew conjugations which typically realise these forms. The terminology is characteristic of systemic linguistics and could be simplified by using better-known terms.

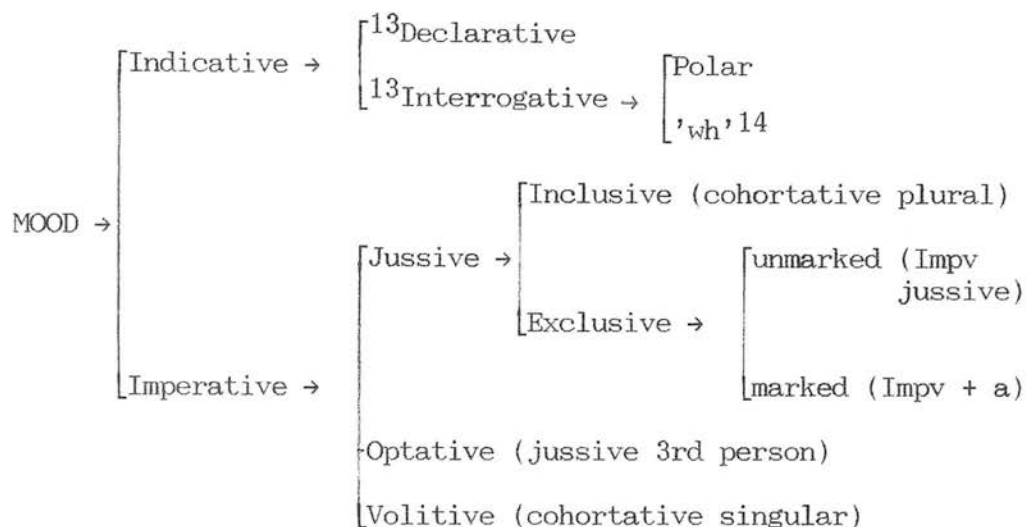
Using our paradigm clause 'God created ...', this is extensive, effective, operative, + goal-orientated, agent-orientated. i.e. the verb is used transitively, and the mood rôle of the subject is conflated with the Actor-rôle.

2.3.2 Interpersonal

In this area rôle relations are expressed (Person) and people take

up a stance vis-à-vis their utterances. 'Mood' and 'modality' are often used in confusing ways: mood is traditionally a feature of the verb (this makes sense for Latin/Classical Greek), but Halliday makes it a feature of the clause for English, and we probably do best to do likewise for Hebrew (especially in the case of the traditional 'noun-clause = verbless clause'). Modality, which in English is especially associated with modal verbs, will in Biblical Hebrew be a feature chiefly of lexis and of clause. The declarative mood is best understood as the unmarked form of modality. Below is a provisional mood network for Biblical Hebrew. Some terminological confusion is unavoidable here, since 'jussive' in systemics is often used to designate the direct command form with 'imperative' reserved as the general term for the mood in all its forms; in Biblical Hebrew 'jussive' has a different usage referring partly to a morphological marking of the verb (often not apparent) and partly to a function of the verb (especially the third person command). In the diagram the traditional Hebrew grammar terms are printed with a small letter.

DIAGRAM 2.3: THE MOOD SYSTEM FOR BIBLICAL HEBREW



2.3.3 Textual

2.3.3.1 The key feature here is the organisation of the clause into a binary unit: Theme-Rheme (cf. Prague School 'Functional Sentence Perspective'). Halliday defines the Theme as that which the clause is about and identifies it structurally as the first non-obligatory member of the clause (exclusive of conjunctions, etc.). The structural criterion is in order, but the definition is not, and it seems to me that 'Theme' is polyvalent in function; it may sometimes convey 'aboutness', but it will also be cohesive and perspective-shaping. Halliday and others also identify another component which organises the clause in binary manner: Information Structure (Given-New). As this is a feature chiefly of the spoken language, it is not relevant here. There are, however, clues in the written text which may identify New Information (N.B. new = what the speaker wants to present as new).

The distinction between unmarked and marked Themes is important: the unmarked Theme is what we expect to find commencing a particular kind of clause; anything else will have degrees of markedness. Roughly for Biblical Hebrew¹⁵ we have

<u>Verbal clause</u>	<u>Unmarked theme:</u>	Verb (with subject marked morphologically if no noun subject)
<u>Noun-clause</u>	<u>Unmarked theme:</u>	<u>identification</u> subject
(Relational)		<u>attribution</u> adjective

For example, in a verbal clause a complement initially would be highly marked; some adjuncts less marked than others, e.g. time adjuncts, the architypal creators of framework narrative, hardly at all, though they could become marked by excessive regularity in initial position in a register where this would be unusual. The so-called 'circumstantial clause' with fixed SV order = a temporal clause could be best treated with the noun or Relational clause, since it describes rather than narrates. However, its order is fixed, and a VS clause with marked order, e.g. CVS/AVS effectively ceases to narrate and comes likewise to describe (see Chapter 3). Clearly, a Theme system for Biblical Hebrew will have to take account of the feature + Relational clause. The example clause below is followed by two clauses which evince careful thematic ordering:

<u>wyybr'</u>	<u>'lhym</u>	<u>et h'dm</u>	<u>bšlmw</u>
and created	God	humanity	in his image

<u>bšlm</u>	<u>'lhym</u>	<u>br'</u>	<u>'tw</u>
in the image	of God	he created	it

<u>zkr</u>	<u>wnqbh</u>	<u>br'</u>	<u>'tm</u>
male	and female	he created	them

The order of elements in the structures is

1. VSCA
2. AVS
3. CVC

The first clause continues the narrative of the divine creative activity after a divine utterance; thereafter the narrative event-line is suspended to focus on the essential nature of human beings: the adjunct-Theme gives focus to 'image' etc., as does the object complement-Theme which aligns itself with the preceding Theme as an elaboration.

2.3.3.2 A second important aspect of textual organisation, which overlaps with Theme-Rheme is COHESION, the grammatical and lexical means whereby a series of sentences hold together to form a coherent discourse. Among the grammatical devices are anaphora (the use of pro-forms, e.g. pronouns to refer back to nouns),

conjunction, and, relevant to Hebrew verse, ellipsis, e.g. verb-gapping in the second member of a bicolon. Frequent observations will be made regarding the lexical cohesion of texts. It is important to remember that in systemic linguistics lexis is closely related to grammar and at the same level. Thus lexis as much as grammar is an expression of the three metafunctions, i.e. lexis will express content (ideational), modality (interpersonal) and cohesion (textual). Here I give a brief outline of its textual function. We can distinguish the following kinds of bonding:

Repetition 'image' and 'create' in our example passage Genesis 1:27.

Synonymy / in Genesis 2 ʿśh 'make' is used instead of br 'create' (Genesis 1) to describe the divine activity though with different nuances.

Antonymy 'male' and 'female' (also collocational).

Meronymy (part-whole) in Ecclesiastes 12:2a 'sun', 'moon', 'stars' can be called meronyms of 'sky'.

Hyponymy (specific-general) 'sun', 'moon' and 'stars' can also be seen as hyponyms of 'light' in the above text. Both types of organisation are relevant to the passage: 'light' is mentioned, 11:7, and other sky features (but non-light) 12:2b.

Collocation. An important Firthian notion best summarised as 'you know a word by the company it keeps'. In Information theory terms collocates are words with high transitional probability, i.e. the presence of one suggests the likelihood of the other, e.g. male and female. (The grammatical equivalent of cohesion by collocation is called colligation; thus prepositions colligate with nouns and pronouns).

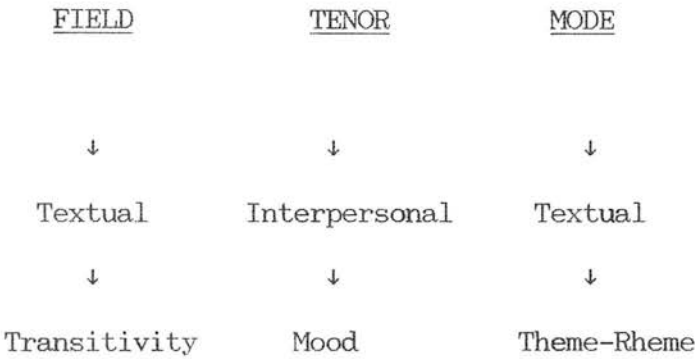
2.4 REGISTER

A register can be defined as the configuration of semantic resources that the member of a culture typically associates with a situation type. It is the meaning potential that is accessible in a given social context. (Ia Halliday 1978, p. 111).

The innumerable verbal contexts of situation in a culture can be classified according to the grammatical selections made in the three metafunctions; the resultant types are registers. This is a notion akin to genre of which register can be seen as a subcomponent, e.g. letter-writing is a genre with many registers: the register of the love letter v the business letter. The register of a situation is revealing of what society allows and how it allows it: a society might have no register at all for discussing sex or only a formal or informal register. Register is constituted by three components which are related to the

metafunctions.

DIAGRAM 2.4: FIELD, TENOR, MODE



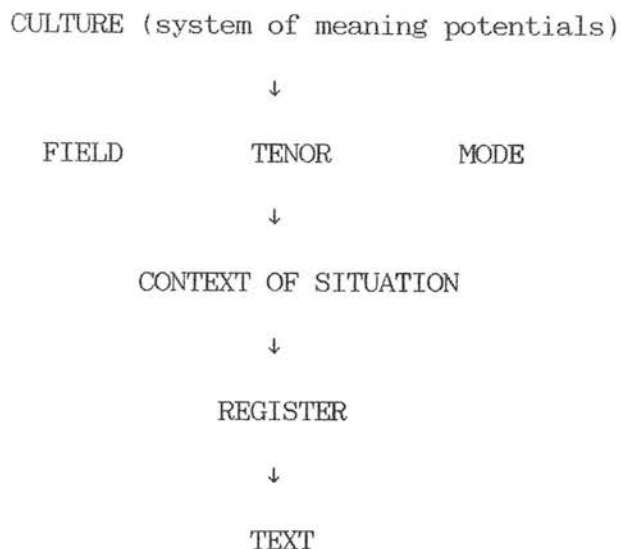
FIELD: subject of discourse + what is going on

TENOR: social relations

MODE: manner of attaining aim

We can use another diagram to illustrate the relationship of these three components to register.

DIAGRAM 2.5: THE CONSTITUTION OF REGISTER



i.e., text is conceptualised as the tangible manifestation (instantiation) of a specific situation constituted as part of a general socio-semantic system = culture or society.

2.5 MEANING AND SYSTEMIC LINGUISTICS

I have already touched on meaning and can do so now more pertinently after this resumé of systemic linguistics. Firth (Ia 1951) saw meaning as polysystemic; he uses the image of refracted light from a prism to describe how meaning is dispersed among several levels. Meaning is essentially contextual, and the contexts can be represented as the skins of an onion. Barthes (IIb 1971) rejected the notion of meaning as the kernel in the apricot, so that one strips away to discover the mystical centre.

For him everything is form without content.

Thus meaning is a process which, in the case of verbal meaning, is manifested or concretised in text (written/spoken). Dictionary meaning is a kind of fiction, and no dictionary is ever a-contextual: "Even in a dictionary, the lexical meaning of any given word is achieved by multiple statements of meaning at different levels" (Ia 1951, p.192). Firth then goes on to list such levels as orthographical, phonetic, grammatical, etymological, social. This notion that meaning is contextual is patently seen in poetic discourse where the poet creates a world or context which shapes the meaning of words. However, this is not confined to poetry. In many texts the context is conventional, and so words appear to have fixed meanings of a dictionary kind. Sinclair (Ia 1987) notes that what we commonly call the dictionary meaning is probably based on the most frequent, independent (non-idiomatic) use of the word. Thus meaning is determined by immediate and distant factors, but the extreme parts of the context cohere in the linguistic system which reflects the socio-semantic contents in which meaning originates. Meaning is often associated chiefly with lexis but grammar too is a carrier of meaning. Halliday (Ia 1987) usefully posits four levels in a text which contribute to meaning and points out how meaning tends to get confined to the upper levels in discussion.

<u>Level</u>	0	Themes, motifs	
<u>Level</u>	1	Lexis	
<u>Level</u>	2	Phenotypes	} grammar
<u>Level</u>	3	Cryptotypes	}

Level 3 is the level of e.g. transitivity patterns. The meaning function here may be automatised, so that, in Russian Formalist terminology, we recognise but do not see; it may become de-automatised and a patent bearer of meaning in some text.

In Chapter 1 we spoke of matching effect with description. The dictionary may be regarded as a repository of some conventional lexical effects. There is no corresponding syntactical dictionary, e.g. reduced relative clauses = terseness; frequency of conjunctions and discourse adjuncts = flowing and coherent. Antagonists of stylistics sometimes imply that there should be, otherwise, what is to stop stylisticians ascribing any meaning they like to syntactical features. Hence the charge of arbitrariness. Freeman (IIa 1980) accuses Patterson of seeming to suggest that he uses the grammar of Keats's Ode to Autumn as a 'Silly Putty'. Surely the point is that grammar can be used as a 'Clever Putty', i.e. the context shapes the way the syntax is meaning-determining precisely as with the lexis. Critics have no difficulty arguing about the use of words in a poem and the bearing of context; why not likewise with the grammar? What systemic linguistics is developing is a detailed, context-sensitive system of lexical and grammatical networks.

2.6 CONCLUSION

In systemic linguistics it is far more important to know what a speaker CAN DO and DOES than what she knows and does (competence v performance). It is because systemics rejects the competence v performance dichotomy and focuses on language as it is used in multifarious ways seeing it within the context of all the possible and potential verbal meanings of society, that it is such an ideal tool for textual analysis. And because language is viewed as socio-semiotic, one can never satisfactorily confine oneself to the text: with this system of analysis the text demands to be situated in a wider context. The text can be approached from below or above.

above What kind of grammatical selections does this context of situation predict?

below What kind of context of situation is realised by these grammatical network selections?

Here lies Firth's well-known rejection of Sapir's unhappy paradigm sentence, 'The farmer kills the duckling' (Ib Sapir 1921 p. 82). Firth could not see how the selections in the utterance could be the result of any imaginable situation; for him it had no implication of situation! (Ia Firth 1957 p. 24).

Bloomfield (Ib 1933) would find Sapir's utterance unproblematic, because it is a grammatically well-formed sentence, and linguistics has nothing to say about any level beyond the sentence, i.e. his linguistics does not operate at the level of text (see p. 474 for quotation). In Firth and Bloomfield we have two sharply differing approaches to linguistics and texts. For Bloomfield as linguist, text is an assemblage of sentences to be analysed in isolation from one another. Firth, in contrast, views a text as a complex of utterances which constitute a unity, because a text is seen as an act of communication with a definite context of situation. It is this relating the sentence as utterance to both the linguistic context and the non-linguistic context which distinguishes linguistic analysis from discourse analysis, the method employed in this thesis. Discourse analysis is more than a description of linguistic data; the data needs to be related to situation, and for this very reason I have chosen to use semanticised grammar, which sees linguistic form as reflecting situation and, in turn, re-acting on situation. In short, linguistic analysis is clause-related, discourse analysis is text-in-context-of-situation related.¹⁶

CHAPTER 2

FOOTNOTES

1. For an example of the application of transformational grammar to style see Jacobs and Rosenbaum's 'Transformations, Style and Meaning' (Ib 1971) and Ohmann (IIa 1964).
2. That transformations were eventually seen to be capable of changing meaning is now history, since generative grammar in the 1980s has become less and less transformational. (See Ib Sells 1985).
3. The ensuing account of systemic linguistics is based largely on Halliday's work. The standard reference work here is now Ia Halliday 1985b. Halliday's work over some thirty years has a certain homogeneity, so that one can quote from almost anywhere to elaborate on aspects of his 'Introduction to Functional Grammar'. For a simple introduction to systemic linguistics there is Ia Morley 1985. Longer and more detailed is Ia Berry 1975-77. An excellent review of Halliday and other systemicists is found in Ia Butler 1985. Much of the theory (the deep structure) of the 'Introduction to Functional Grammar' is found in a collection of papers

edited by Halliday and Martin 1981. For an example other than Halliday of a systemic grammar of English see Ia Muir 1972. Unfortunately systemic linguistics is strongly Anglo-Saxon orientated. Consequently I have had to work out a grammar for Biblical Hebrew on the job.

4. Halliday prefers 'group' to the commoner 'phrase' because of the latter's ambiguous use in 'verb phrase' which may or may not include predicate items other than the verb. Halliday's 'verbal group' contains only verb items.
5. Halliday uses 'predicator'. I have preferred the simpler term 'verb'.
6. RSV Genesis 1:27 'So God created man in his own image'.
7. Halliday uses 'prepositional phrase', not 'group', since he likens the preposition to a verb, both able to govern a complement. Because the complement is excluded from the verbal group, preposition + complement = phrase.
8. Halliday includes within the ideational metafunction a sub-component: the logical (conjunction, negation).
9. In the analyses I normally use the term 'adjunct', which Halliday consigns to the interpersonal level.

10. The subdivision of the verb element of structure into predicator and finite may be realised synthetically as here, i.e. morphologically, or analytically, e.g. mšh hyh (finite) r^{ch} (predicator) 't š'n (now Moses was keeping the flock). Exodus 3:1 'Finite' corresponds to the early Chomsky 'tense' and later 'inflexion'.
11. Relational clauses with the exception of the existential subclass are usually verbless in Biblical Hebrew, i.e. the relational process is a feature of the clause.
12. These particles are, of course, not formally verbs, although they have come to function as such in some aspects.
13. In using these terms, strictly speaking, the form should be mood indicative: declarative and so on. I shall usually shorten this for convenience to 'declarative' etc.
14. 'wh' interrogative is the common term derived from English grammatical description for non-polar questions, who, what, etc.
15. See Muraoka (Ib 1985, pp. 1-46) for word-order in Verbal and Nominal (Noun) clauses-types, and Andersen (Ib 1970, pp. 42- 50) for the Noun-clause.
16. Representative of this approach are Longacre (Ib 1983, 1984; III 1985) and Givón (Ib 1977).

PART II

THE ANALYSES

CHAPTERS 3-12

FOREWORD TO CHAPTERS 3-12

ARRANGEMENT OF THE ANALYSES

I have classified the texts into four broad genres, which are self-explanatory. The designation 'persuasion' has been preferred to 'rhetoric' because of the different uses of the latter term which render it imprecise.

AIMS OF THE ANALYSES

We have set ourselves the task of testing the worth of a stylistics based on systemic linguistics for the analysis of Biblical Hebrew texts, and in particular we shall test its value for

1. getting into a text.
2. processing the data of a text.
3. matching intuition and prior interpretation to linguistic structure.
4. discovering relevant meaning-bearing patterns.

PROCEDURE

No fixed procedure is used, partly because the focus of linguistic interest will vary from text to text, and partly because stylistics is not a scientific procedure; the text itself will often suggest a place to start, and failing that, one can fall back on an initial probing of the grammar within the framework of the Hallidayan metafunctions. A preface to the various analyses indicates where the attention will be concentrated.

I shall appear to be in danger of impaling myself on my own criticism of structuralism (Section 1.2.4) with these analyses, bristling as they are at times with symbols and formulae. Fortunately, much of the terminology is the common parlance of grammar books. Detail of the kind here is right for a thesis, but for commentary work or lecture/seminar presentation some of the detail can be omitted or relegated to appendices for those who want to pursue it further. It is important that in the kind of public presentations just mentioned the use of linguistics is controlled and 'gentle'. Sometimes only a few facets of the text need to be explored in detail. Indeed, in the instance of a long work a few passages only can be selected.

These analyses are based on BHS. However, I have chosen to use the RSV as a rule where the latter is not a hindrance to understanding the original text. In this way the thesis is made available to a wider audience not competent in Hebrew both within



and outside the Biblical scholarship, and it allows me to make some comments en passant on aspects of translation. I have sometimes departed from RSV making my own translation, and I have either said so or it is apparent from the context. I have preferred throughout to replace RSV's 'Lord' by the proper name Yahweh.

SECTION 1

THE STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF NARRATIVE

CHAPTERS 3-4

CHAPTER 3

THE LINGUISTIC SHAPE OF NARRATIVE

I SAMUEL 1-4

PREFACE TO CHAPTER 3

The treatment of I Samuel 1-4 is not linguistically exhaustive; the focus is chiefly on the verb, in particular its morphologically differentiated forms *qtl* (perfect), *yqtl* (imperfect) plus the *waw*-consecutive forms ('and' + verb form) *wqtl* and *wyyqtl*, and the participle, and their function in the construction of narrative. The analysis will illustrate how the linguistic material of the narrative is not a mere vehicle whilst the narrative itself exists on some largely uncoupled semantic level. The linguistic level will be shown to instantiate and construct the narrative. Accordingly, the analysis investigates the discourse function of the linguistic material, not the syntax of individual sentences and demonstrates how the narrative gestalt of Foreground and Background is realised. The chosen section of the Book of Samuel narrates Samuel's birth and commissioning as prophet intertwined with the fall of the house of Eli.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

3.1.1 Labov (Ib in Reinhart 1984, p.779) has defined the minimal narrative as two clauses which are in temporal sequence, and Prince (Ib 1973, p.31) has given a similar but more elaborate definition. The minimal story consists of

three conjoined events. The first and third events are stative, the second is active. Furthermore, the third event is the inverse of the first. Finally, the three events are conjoined by these conjunctive features in such a way that (a) the first event precedes the second in time, and the second precedes the third, and (b) the second event causes the third. (IIb Prince 1973, p 31).

To give an example based on the story-line of I Samuel 1:

	There was a man who had an <u>unhappy</u> ,	<u>STATIVE</u>
	childless wife.	
<u>THEN</u>	Yahweh gave her a child.	<u>ACTIVE</u>
<u>SO</u>	She was afterwards very <u>content</u> .	<u>STATIVE</u>

Essential to narrative is both the causal and the temporal dimension, and we shall see later how the temporal sequence appears to be privileged; another sine qua non of story is, to use structuralist terminology, binary opposition: want, and liquidation of want. In the tension created by the initial negative situation lies the energy, the momentum of narrative, which is only neutralised when the inverse of the initial situation is realised. Engendered by this binary opposition is the expectation and ultimate satisfaction which the reader experiences. In between these two states it is the artistic deformation of the basic story-line (fabula or histoire), by the act of narration, into plot (suzhet or récit)¹, which creates interest and frustration through the unpredictable twists and turns which the story will take.

3.1.2 In the example I gave above to illustrate Prince's definition, there is only one action verb, 'gave': it is Punctual, i.e. it describes an event in the world as having taken place without reference to duration. We can best see the force of this point if we express that clause in another way, e.g.

(1) Yahweh used to give her a child

(2) Yahweh is the giver of children.

In clause (1) we no longer have a punctual event but a series of such events: the verbal phrase is now iterative/frequentative; there is no sense of completion. We expect some kind of

development (excuse the irreverence), 'after the ninth child Hannah pleaded with Yahweh to stop blessing her.' In (2) the verbal force has disappeared altogether: the lexical verb 'be' is here purely equative. We have moved from a dynamic situation via a progressive one to a stative one. But as with clause (1) we still expect a development, e.g. 'so Hannah prayed to Yahweh for a child.' Now the original example with the dynamic verb was

(3) Yahweh gave her a child

but this too demands something, not so much a development as an explanation, some necessary information, i.e. she was childless. The thesis of this chapter is that to read a story intelligently, we need to perceive its shape; we need to contour the material such that we perceive Foreground and Background. This has been compared to the gestalt theory of perception: every figure presupposes a background, a sine qua non, of perception: In I Samuel 1-4 I want to demonstrate the linguistic means which Hebrew has to do this. In the clauses used above we will probably feel that the dynamic clause is foreground, the progressive and relational clauses are background; they supply information or set a scene. In narrative it is the event-line which forms a contour against a backcloth of non-temporal or temporally deformed material. Psychologically, one might expect action to be more salient than description, especially as it allows the creation of a forward momentum by means of temporal sequencing. It is not enough that events be linked causally: scientific discourse and

news broadcasts do this, yet do not normally create narrative: an event-line depends both on causal and temporal contingency:

Hannah who had been childless is now happy because Yahweh has given her a child.

The same information as in the minimal story example but no longer a story because (1) there is no temporal sequence, only a logical connection and (2) the main line punctual verb has now become backgrounded both by the tense of anteriority: the past perfect, and by subordination.

3.1.3 The simplest way to précis a story is to write out only the main clauses with action verbs in the simple past tense of narration: there is the figure or foreground: all the rest is background. However, this is too simple a notion. Foreground/background is not a sharp, binary opposition, absolute light and shade but rather a cline from bright light to shadow. Not every event in the event-line is of equal importance: one event may be a nucleus for others to cluster round - in I Samuel 3 (the call of Samuel) the clauses describing Yahweh's calling the lad have maximum foreground, those telling how he goes straight to Eli, thus attesting his willingness and obedience, are a little less to the fore and his subsequent return to his bed is what the reader expects, so that part of the event-line is least important.² A second caveat is that the event-line need not always be the sole form of foreground; it just happens to be how

we perceive both spatial and temporal relations. The non-dynamic may be foreground sometimes; we must distinguish henceforth between unmarked foreground as figure and contour, and marked foreground as focus on the significant. The latter may be called foregrounding: in contrast the unmarked foreground or event-line is automatised. Thus, for much of a narrative the event or time-line will be automatic, natural, unconscious focus; from time to time, depending on the narrative, other things will come into focus, e.g. value-judgments on the part of the narrator. Similarly, the background can also be layered.

3.2 THE ANALYSIS

3.2.1 I begin the analysis of the four Samuel chapters with an overview of the structure and will then analyse the use of tense and aspect to define and deform the event-line.

1:1-3 Introduction with details of characters and of their yearly pilgrimage.

1:4-2:11a The events leading up to the birth of Samuel and his subsequent weaning and dedication.

2:11b-36 News of Eli's sons and the prophetic word of doom on Eli's house with some information about Samuel and his mother's visits.

3:1-21 Samuel is confirmed as the prophet of Yahweh.

4:1-22 War with the Philistines and capture of the ark,
and the beginning of the fulfilment of the
prophetic crusade against Eli and his family.

3.2.2 vv 1-3. This introduces the characters who play a rôle in the opening episodes and establishes the two geographical locations (linked by the movement of some of the characters on an annual pilgrimage). The passage is built chiefly out of relational clauses which in Biblical Hebrew are usually verbless. There are eight such clauses.

	{ <u>Identification</u> 1:1b, 1:2a, 1:2a	3
<u>INTENSIVE</u>	{ <u>Attribution</u> 1:3b	1
<u>CIRCUMSTANTIAL</u>	1:1a	1
<u>POSSESSION</u>	1:2a, 1:2b, 1:2b	<u>3</u>
		8

These clauses are stative, i.e. they describe an existing state, and are typically scene-setting and thus background. It is against such a linguistic background that we perceive the event-line and are able to make sense of the chronological succession and to see the implied causal links. Within this background there is one piece of information which is to the fore and can be regarded as marked foreground: the two clauses: possession describing Peninnah's fertility and Hannah's barrenness. That these facts are important for understanding the

initial unfurling of the story is indicated not only by them being recorded, but the importance is signalled linguistically by

1. and it was wyhy (not RSV), equivalent here to the focaliser hnnh
2. the reversal of names. In the previous clauses the order is Hannah (the elder?) and Peninnah. Here it is Peninnah and Hannah: the first clause acts as perspective for the second clause.

Thus Hannah's childless condition is revealed with pathos and the presence of the fertile wife creates the narrative violence³ or energy which will initiate the narrative momentum.

Note how wyhy is used also to introduce the narrative, with its verbal force attenuated (it functions as a discourse marker and divider), a function which can overlap with its use as a focaliser.

Only at v3 do we get a clause with a verb, and here the wqtl⁴ is a frequentative (used to go up), not a punctual form, i.e. it is aspectual as the modifier: time (frequency) indicates; this is also scene-setting. The next few verses enable us to say more about this use of the verb.

3.2.3 vv4-7a The event line of the narrative is introduced in characteristic fashion by a temporal clause, also a typical scene-setter. However, it is more than a scene-setter like other background forms. A temporal clause gets the narrative started and signals the beginning of the event-line. The wyhy hovers here between a pure discourse marker and a verb (note RSV 'On the day when'). The use of wyhy in this way must have been a starting-point for its evolution into its non-verbal use. This clause gives a setting for the first yqtl form wyyzbh, 'sacrificed'. However, its potential to create temporal sequence is frustrated by a lengthy insertion marked by frequentative verbs which give necessary information to understand Hannah's pitch of distress at v8bff. There are five such verbs: three yqtl and two wqtl forms. We are told how Elkanah used to distribute the sacrificial portions and how Peninnah would provoke Hannah. This yearly occurrence of differential treatment and of spite respectively is underlined by a narrator's summary at v7 with its time adjunct and its non-finite temporal clause. The imperfective verb creates an indefinite time-span extending into the past and up to the present of the narrative, and by inference, if contrary information is wanting, into the relative future, and so provides a backdrop for the event-line which as yet has scarcely got under way.

This section also contains two more important gestalt creating devices:

1. The qtl form occurs in two types of clause:

- (i) a main clause with SV order, v6b.
- (ii) a subordinate 'ky' clause with the predictable VS order, v5b.

Both qtl forms here are translated by the English past perfect, i.e. they have a discourses function of anteriority and effect a flash-back: they refer to an indefinite past with a sense of reaching back. The SV order with qtl is an important means of signalling anteriority [one of the common functions of the so-called circumstantial clause, confusingly named because in modern grammar a circumstantial clause expresses a premise, whereas in Biblical Hebrew it chiefly refers to a temporal function].⁵ Subordinate clauses, of course, provide background information. In the 'ky' clause at v 5a, 'hb is not a tense of anteriority but expresses a stative meaning as background to Elkenah's actions.

3.2.4 v5 furnishes some instructive examples of word order.

and <u>to Hannah</u> he would give one portion	Indirect Obj
V	
although <u>Hannah</u> he loved (it was Hannah	Obj V
he loved)	
but <u>Yahweh</u> had shut her womb.	SV

In the first clause 'to Hannah' is strongly contrastive with the previously mentioned participants of the feast (Peninnah and her children) and creates the perspective for the new information about the giving of only one portion. The counter-expectation clause maintains the contrast, and thus the unmarked order of the SV clause associates Yahweh with these contrasts. How one starts a clause is called thematic ordering: the Theme is the first non-obligatory element; everything after that is the Rheme. The Theme is polyfunctional, but its most general function is to give the perspective for the rheme which usually has the focus and often provides New Information (in the above clauses all the rhemes are New information). Theme-Rheme, which is applicable both within a clause and within a compound sentence, i.e. one clause can be theme to a following clause, creates another kind of foreground/background and hence local shading. It is a way of maintaining continuity between clauses and showing where the focus is. As such, it operates on the event-line and in the non-event-line background.

3.2.5. vv4-9a The problem here is to know where the background infilling ceases (commentators/translators illustrate the difficulty). The shape of the event-line is probably

Elkanah sacrificed, v4a [] and Hannah wept (on this occasion), v7b.

In favour of this is the reappearance of the waw-consecutive

imperfect, wttbkh 'wept', but it is followed immediately by a yqtl form, t'kl = 'did not used to eat'? It may be that the scribe's eye has suppressed the required perfect after the negative particle because of the attraction of the last imperfect of the foregoing clause. However, the imperfect t'kl is probably the not uncommon yqtl in a waw-consecutive imperfect context, where a perfect would be expected. There are five others in chapters 1-4: 1:10b, 13, 2:25(?), 3:2, 4:15. They are most likely akin to historical presents: they bring to the action the incompleteness and vivid progression of the aspectual yqtl, just as the historic present in other languages brings the immediacy of the present into a past context.⁶ They are metaphors. Interestingly, five of the six are negative polarity, which are normally backgrounds, because it is unrealistic: this could have happened, but it did not. This sharpens the event-line. The use of the imperfect with negative polarity gives marked focus, so that 'she did not eat' is more than mere detail. It acquires a volitional dimension: 'She did not want to eat', or 'refused to eat'. And at v13 'Her voice was not heard' is clearly marked foreground, for it explains Eli's misjudgment.

3.2.6 vv9-18. With Hannah's getting up, (an indication of her state by dint of its bluntness as a response to Elkanah's sympathetic words), the story at last gets under way. This section can be better grasped if we isolate the waw-consecutive forms, which constitute the contour of foreground.

and Hannah rose [1] and she prayed to Yahweh and wept bitterly and she vowed a vow and said [2a,b] and Eli took her to be a drunken woman and said to her [3] and she answered [4] and Eli answered [5] and she said [6] and she went her way and ate [7].

The seven brackets indicate how much information the narrator feels has to be fed into the story. The well-known waw-consecutive chaining effect is frequently absent in these early chapters owing to the continual interruption of the foreground contour with background detailing. Linguistically the background here is constituted by

1. Relational Clauses (already discussed): 10a, 18b, one attributive: verbless; one circumstantial with hyh. The use of hyh as a relational verb, i.e. as copula is not common in classical usage, and this final comment about Hannah, v18b, should perhaps be seen as emphatic: the effect of her prayer and of Eli's blessing is cathartic for her grief.
2. Clauses with Participles.⁷ 9b, (sitting ywšb), 12b, (watching šmr), 13a (speaking mdbbrt), predicated of Eli/Hannah. The participle clause with its usual SV order is a background function; in particular, it functions as a continuous form, an action persisting unchangingly through time. SV order as with the perfect gives topic salience. The participle clause is characteristic of the development of Eli's character, and

I shall pick it up in summary later on. Hannah's act of prayer, though unspoken, is not unwitnessed: Eli is there and watching.

3. Quoted Speech, vv11, 14-18. Direct speech is characteristic of Biblical Hebrew story-telling, and it allows a narrator to let the characters reveal their feelings and motivations and intentions directly. Whereas the mimesis of action linguistically must always be asymptotic, that of speech, being linguistic itself, is less problematic. However, the immediacy is in a way deceptive, because, although grammatically the quotation is independent of its context - as a discourse within a discourse, it can position itself anywhere on the temporal line - at discourse level its interpretation is determined by its context, and by the narrator's view of things. Here the prayer and the blessing characteristically use irrealis (hypothetical) verb forms: yqtl, wqtl functioning as futures and jussives.

3.2.7 If we review the narrative so far under Genette's categories of TIME: Order, Frequency and Duration: ways in which time can be manipulated and presented (IIb 1980), we realise how a complex of detail and information has been woven about the narrative thread. So far, in narrating time we have spent more time off the event-line than on it, with brief and detailed flashbacks (order), as well as information about the contemporary scene. The emphasis on the regularity of the yearly pilgrimage is

continued later with reports of two further visits, 1:21ff, 24ff (frequency) and a further reminder, 2:19, that this was an unfailing family custom. It becomes an indication of Elkanah's piety and later of Hannah's faithfulness. The category of duration is important as well. The narrating and description of Hannah's distress occupies on the occasion in focus eighteen lines, and the pain caused to Hannah by Peninnah's provocative conduct is heightened ironically by Eli's failure to distinguish between the signs of drunkenness and of anguish. Hannah's use of marked themes in her reply, v15, 'wine and strong liquor I have not drunk'; v16, 'out of anxiety and vexation I have spoken', convey the heartfelt earnest of her defence. Apart from the length of the episode, it is marked also by the use of monologue and dialogue, much scene-setting and detail, and a narrator's summary: v12, 'she continued to pray' (which indicates that we are on the ellipsis side of the duration cline here, i.e. the narrator gives us only part of the prayer). The great complex of details, vv11-18, serves to 'motivate' the event-line constituted by the twelve dispersed waw-consecutives, which would otherwise be threadbare; in turn the event-line justifies the existence of all this information.

3.2.8 vv19-28. Unlike vv1-18, this contains a stronger event line and a complex of actions: Hannah's conception and giving birth, the visit to Shiloh without her, the matter of the weaning, Hannah's eventual visit and her act of dedication. vv19-20 accelerate the action with nine waw-consecutive verbs following

closely upon one another. We do not know how soon Hannah conceived in measured time; that is irrelevant. The event-line conveys that it was immediate: Yahweh answers Hannah's prayer. She had offered it in sincerity and received Eli's blessing in faith. The sub-episode at vv22-23 is made much of, and clearly the weaning is an important motif by dint of lexical repetition (four times). It is introduced by a SV perfect clause which could mean

but Hannah did not go up

or but Hannah had not gone up

The topic-marking and side-stepping of the event-line do not always coincide in SV perfect clauses, hence the ambiguity. However, because of the importance of the weaning motif, it is more dramatic to see the perfect form as a simple past with emphatic clause order foregrounding the negation. It then activates in the reader's mind Hannah's professed intention to offer the child to Yahweh, v11b. A moment of suspense begins: will she do this, and if so, will she do it willingly? Thus the function of the foregrounded weaning: what could be understood as an excuse or prevarication becomes a means of confirming Hannah's faithfulness.

22b as soon as the child is weaned, then I will bring him

23a wait until you have weaned him.

23b and (she) nursed her son until she weaned him.

24 and she took him up with her, when she had weaned him, along with a three-year old bull... ('when' clause thematised in RSV).

The initial position of the temporal clause in the first occurrence frames the bringing up; thereafter, the temporal clauses come after the main clauses in focus position. To see the weaning motif as a test of fidelity is strengthened if in v23a with LXX we read dbrk 'your word'. There is a hint of the costliness of the act of dedication for Hannah, when the narrator tells us that she took Samuel up along with a three-year old bull, an ephah of flour and a skin of wine: Samuel becomes associated with the sacrificial offerings, of which he is chief, (however, the prepositions used introduce a hierarchy: the more personal עִם [RSV 'with'] and בְּ [RSV 'along with']). So it is in Hannah's speech to Eli that the dedication is the climax, v28, and is linguistically foregrounded by (1) גַּם in its particularising function emphasising (2) the already emphatic independent pronoun 'nky (note SV order with such pronouns), (3) the use of the perfect (it would be lame to understand this as a straightforward past) which underlines the illocutionary nature of Hannah's utterance⁸; and (4) the time adjunct, (Hebrew 'all the days which'). Note how 'my petition which I made to him' illustrates how relative clauses are another means of feeding in background information and very often effecting a flashback.

3.2.9 The first sub-unit of the narrative concludes with Hannah's song of praise. My comments here have to be minimal. It opens with three perfects functioning similarly to the perfect just described. As such, they embrace the whole of the hymn and also enter into a pattern with other verb forms:

TABLE 3.1: VERB FORMS 2:1-10

<u>Main Clause Verbs</u>				<u>Description</u>
2:1-3	3	qtl	[6]	of explicit illocutionary force
4-5	5	qtl	[6]	of past action
6-8	8	Ptc	[11]	of timeless action
9-10	5	yqtl	[5]	of future action
<hr/>				
	21		[28]	

The bracketed figures refer to the total number of main clauses in each section.

We pass from the actions expressed by the perfects of illocutionary force embracing the whole song, which itself effects the act of praise, via the perfects of vv4b-5 referring to Yahweh's past deeds to the participles, vv6-8, depicting Yahweh's continuous, timeless activity, and thence to the imperfects predicting Yahweh's future deeds, vv9-10. The waw-consecutive event-line form has hardly a place; instead we have a

proliferation of verb forms, often in asyndetic clauses. We should regard Hannah's song as a didactic peak (Longacre 1985, pp176-177) focussing on Yahweh's all-embracing activity, of which Hannah's conception of Samuel, narrated in the action peak of 19-20 with its seven wyyqtl (waw-consecutive) forms, is a specific example.

3.2.10 2:11-4:9. I now want to take a wider sweep of narrative and comment more discriminately. The section contains the following.

Background	{2:11-17	Information about Eli's sons
to oracle	{2 18-21	Information about Hannah
and call	{2 22-26	Eli unsuccessfully rebukes his sons
	2 27-36	Oracle of doom
	3	Samuel's call: the Word of Yahweh ceases to be rare.
	4 1-9	the Word of Yahweh begins the fulfilment of the predicted overthrow of the house of Eli.

3.2.11. A motif constituted by the figure of Samuel is employed to punctuate the narrative at important junctures. This motif becomes a hermeneutic code⁹: is Samuel the one to replace the sons and the entire house of Eli? (In the quoted text below I have reflected the presence of the Hebrew participle with the English past progressive).

- 2:11b and the lad was serving Yahweh
 account of the son's sacriligious behaviour
- 2:18a and Samuel was serving before Yahweh
 further information about Hannah and her maternal visits
- 2:21b and the lad, Samuel, grew in the presence of Yahweh
 Eli's unsuccessful rebuke
- 2:26 and the lad Samuel was growing in stature and in favour
 with Yahweh and with man
 oracle of doom
- 3:1a and the lad Samuel was serving Yahweh
 Samuel's call
- 3:19a and Samuel grew up and Yahweh was with him

The three-fold repetition of both šrh and gdl, in retrospect, foregrounds all these clauses, although four of them are participle clauses, of the kind normally constituting background, 2:11/18, enclose the description of the two sons. 2:21 links Samuel's growth and with two preceding wyyqtl forms, 'and Hannah conceived and bore', and since these are a consequence of Yahweh's gracious activity, Samuel's growth is also linked to Yahweh's goodwill. Eli's want of success with his sons is underlined by 2:26 i.e., whilst the priests were conducting themselves

disgracefully, Samuel meanwhile ... The final occurrence of the serving motif is appropriately before Samuel's call, for which Yahweh had thus prepared him, and the call story is concluded with another narrator's summary linking Samuel's growing up with obedience in giving Eli the full facts. The emergence of these motifs by repetition of linguistically similar forms demonstrates how the reader's moving view-point can eventually foreground something in retrospect which at the first occurrence seemed marked as background.

3.2.12. 2:12-20 is marked like 1:3-7 by a density of frequentatives, 5 yqtl and 9 or 10 wqtl. The narration of the response of Eli's sons to his rebuke has an ambiguous yqtl form. Does it mean

and they did not listen (on this one occasion when he rebuked them)

or and they did not used to listen (Eli's remonstrance is one instance of many)?

It probably has the sense of 'did not want to listen'. It draws attention to how Yahweh was determined to destroy them.

3.2.13 The prophetic oracle 2:27-36, like Hannah's song, can be regarded as a didactic peak; here it precedes the action peak, and in Genette's terminology it is proleptic, and anticipates what

is to come by narrating it as a prediction. Prolepsis is rare in literature, though common in biblical narrative, which is concerned to trace the sovereignty of Yahweh in lives and events. Quotation, be it monologue or dialogue, need not be foregrounded; it may merely reveal useful information, but clearly the oracle form is foregrounded. It is the usual mixture of yqtl and wqtl = future foreground, and itself has a discourse structure akin to Theme-Rheme. (In the following table Bgr. = background, Fgr. = foreground.)

TABLE 3:2: ANALYSIS OF ORACLE 2:27-36

		<u>Discourse Markers</u>
{Bgr.	27b-28 <u>preface</u> (historical: Yahweh's choice)	"Thus says Yahweh"
	<u>Accusation</u>	
{Fgr.	29 <u>accusation proper</u>	
{Bgr.	30 <u>preface</u> (historical + oath)	"Therefore, oracle of Yahweh"
	<u>Announcement</u> of	
{Fgr. <u>judgment</u>	31-36 <u>announcement of</u> <u>judgment proper</u>	"Behold"

This mediated oracle to Eli obviously has to be linked to the direct oracle of 3:11-14 to Samuel. The mention of a 'faithful priest', 2:35, would seem to hint at Samuel, and his subsequent call appears to confirm this, but the reader is disabused, 3:20. Observe how the same form, n'mn 'faithful', is used also in 3:20, there = 'established', but 'as a prophet of the Yahweh.' Later on, this teasing hint will appear ironic, for Samuel's dynasty,

8:1-3, founders for the very same reason as Eli's: corrupt sons! The call story makes it very clear that Samuel is called foremost to be a prophet: he receives Yahweh's word directly, Eli indirectly, and v13 'and I shall tell him', without or with correction, must surely be understood to mean that Samuel will convey this word to Eli, as indeed he does. Thus Eli receives the divine word twice, each time mediated. Observe how the SV participle clause in a prediction context can function as an imminent future, e.g. v11, 'I am about to do a thing in Israel', whereas in narrative it functions as a past continuative.

3.2.14 The call of Samuel itself illustrates well Genette's frequency mode: how many times an event, occurring *n* times in the fictional world [histoire] is related in the narrative or récit. It may be narrated *n* times, or less, or more. The call story could have been subject to varying degrees of ellipsis, e.g. narrated as a summary:

and Yahweh called Samuel four times and on the fourth occasion Samuel responded.

What we do have is a fourfold narrating of the four separate occasions on which Yahweh calls in the histoire, a classic instance of scene or the detailed description of an event, so heightening the degree of mimesis. In scene the narrator shows, whereas in summary a narrator tells. The first three incidents are structured alike linguistically. This leisurely approach is

not only good storytelling; it develops further the characterisation of Samuel and Eli, e.g. the little detail, 'he ran', is a seme or indication of Samuel's obedient nature, just as Samuel's three appeals to Eli are an indication of the latter's feebleness. Interestingly, on the subsequent occasions, Samuel merely gets up and walks. His eagerness is tempered a little. Such are the touches by which a narrator creates a world.

3.2.15 3:19-21 is a narrator's summary underlining the new situation in Israel in the wake of Samuel's commissioning as a prophet. Note the sundry linguistic compositions of this summary: three waw-consecutive verbs, widely separated and the last introducing an iterative clause expressed lexically, ysp; two perfects; an emphatic relational clause: circumstantial with hyh and a 'ky' clause. There is no sense of temporal progression here. The summary and call about immediately upon the clause of 4:1a: - this is an instance, and a crucial one, of Yahweh's continuing to appear at Shiloh, for it engineers the overthrow of Eli.

3.2.16 4:1-9. In vv1-4 the event-line is well-marked, and the passage is kinetic. Eight and a half lines of narrative with ten wyyqtl verbs. Neither the people nor the elders pause to answer the question 'why?' It is not part of Yahweh's plan that they should do so. The ark is fetched with the ominous remark that Eli's sons were there with it. The tempo is then slowed up considerably, vv5-9, and in nine and a half lines there are only five consecutive forms. Much of the récit is taken up with the

Philistine's verbal reactions divided by the direct speech marker, 'said' into three sections: (1) the question elicited by the triumphal shout in the Israelite camp, (2) the report of the information received, (3) the morale-boosting speech. The narrative thus creates suspense and equivocation about the outcome of the battle: the Israelites have the ark, but Eli's sons are with it; the Philistines are afraid but steel and rally themselves to counter the threat. Throughout chapters 1-4 the narrator is making good use of quoted speech.

3.2.17. 4:11-22. This final section of our analysis traces the working out of the divine threats in great detail. Notice how the arrival of the messenger is foregrounded by repetition and becomes a means of creating suspense.

- 12a and he came to Shiloh + description of runner.
- 13a and he came + description of the expectant Eli.
- 13b SV and the man came to announce the news in the city +
 reaction of city and Eli's request for information.
- 14b SV and the man hastened and came and told Eli the news.

After the first two occurrences the narrative pauses to give background information, v13a, realised typically by relational and participle clauses + a 'ky' clause. The SV order of the third occurrence recapitulates the topic after the focus of interest has shifted briefly elsewhere, as it does also the fourth time; then at last the messenger reaches Eli: he arrives with much haste. Even now, although it is said that 'he told Eli the news,' we soon

realise that the suspense is maintained (for six lines) and that 'he told Eli the news' is a summary subsequently to be expanded. Compare how the announcement to the city is recorded baldly in an infinitive clause (not RSV): and the man came to announce the news, followed by one event-line verb recording the reaction. It is the manner of Eli's receiving the news which is to be the focus of attention. The narrative contracts and expands as it sees fit. The man identifies his status as the one come from the battle, v16a. Notice how the participle of bw 'come' picks up the foregrounded verb; we have still not got beyond his arrival!

3.2.18 The messenger's announcement of the disasters is one of several lists in this section of the narrative: the list becomes a device for underlining the magnitude of the defeat.

11. and the ark of God was captured and the two sons of Eli died, Hophni and Phineas. SV.

17. and your two sons Hophni and Phineas died and the ark of God was captured. SV.

19. the report about the capture of the ark of God and...

21. with respect to the capture of the ark of God and ...

22. for the ark of God had been captured. VS

18. and when he mentioned the ark of God

The Passive, a typical topic-focusing method, is used three times, 4:10-22, together with SV order, and once with the usual VS conservative order in a 'ky' clause. The description of the ark's capture becomes increasingly nominalised, so fixing it as a linguistic concept which dominates the narrative henceforth. It is selected from the list to stand alone, vv18, 22: it is the ark's capture which kills Eli, and it is the ark's capture which is, above all, Israel's lost glory rather than the house of Eli. The ark now becomes established as the new topic which is the subject of the succeeding episodes, Chapters 5-7.

3.3 FOREGROUND/BACKGROUND AND THE EMERGENCE OF NARRATIVE

CHARACTERS

3.3.1 The background of a narrative is a reservoir for potential topics. Here new characters can be introduced with a minimum of detailing, and some of these may subsequently be established on the event-line as stable topics. Some never achieve topic status, e.g. Eli's sons, or only fleetingly, e.g. Elkānah. Linguistically, a mark of topic status will be VS order with stretches of waw consecutive with the topic marked chiefly by verb morphology. This is especially the case with human topics (the protootypical topic). One would not expect non-human topics to form long waw consecutive chains.

The reservoir notion and topic selection are illustrated below:

DIAGRAM 3:1: TOPIC SELECTION

1:1-7	2:11-12	4:1-3
Elkanah	Elkanah	
Hannah ----> 1:9-2:10	Samuel ----> 3:1-21	Israel
Peninnah	Eli ----> 2:22-36	Philistines
Sons of Eli	Sons of Eli	Ark ----> 4:3-7:2
Yahweh		

3.3.2 HANNAH

Hannah is stable topic as far as 2:10. After that she is mentioned in a background passage, 2:19-21, and then no more. She weeps, prays, defends herself, conceives, gives birth and weans, dedicates Samuel, praises Yahweh and bears many children. She is especially associated with the motif of prayer: the lexeme pll 'pray' is used four times of her, 1:10, 12, 26, 27. Her relationship to Yahweh is further defined by zkr, 'remember', 1:19/ pd 'visit' 2:21, of which verb she is object. Semantically, as the list of cardinal verbs above indicates, she is predominately Actor twenty-one times.

3.3.3 ELI

Eli's manner of introduction is significant for the development of his characterization: in the scene-setting of 1:1-3 he is not even represented linguistically as of any consequence (a mere post-head qualifier, 'sons of Eli!'), and he is later introduced only in a piece of background-detailing information, 1:9b, 'and Eli the priest (was) sitting on his seat! The use of the SV stative participle clause expressing a continuous, unchanging process becomes a motif for depicting Eli in combination with verbs morphologically marked as stative.

- 1 9 and Eli the priest was sitting on his seat
- 1 12 and Eli was watching her mouth
- 2 22 and Eli was very old
- 3 2 and Eli was lying down
- 4 13 and Eli was sitting on his seat
- 4 18 for Eli was - old and the man was - heavy
- 4 13 and his heart was trembling

Ironically, one of the few verbs of which he is subject:Actor comes in the narrator's summary, 4:18, concluding his appearance in the story, 'and he had judged Israel 40 years'. But for this information, we would never have known this, for otherwise only his feebleness is dwelt upon: twice his dimming eyes are mentioned with the subsequent remark: he could not see, 3:2, 4:15. He misunderstands what Hannah is doing; his rebuke to his

sons fails: and it needs Yahweh to call three times before he grasps what is happening. Samuel's eagerness, 'he ran', is a foil to Eli's slowness of uptake. In retrospect, our first view of him sitting on his chair, a passive figure, is re-activated at the scene describing his death; shortly after the repetition of the sitting motif, the narrative reports: 'and he fell from his seat', 4:18. The seat is both a symbol of his authority and of his feebleness; his toppling from it, a result of shock aided by senility, is the solemn act of divesting him of an authority he had already ceased to exercise.

3.3.4 SAMUEL

Samuel is established as temporary topic in chapter 3 and then disappears for three chapters. Semantically he is fairly evenly balanced as Actor, Patient and Verbaliser. Until his call he is a passive figure, object of Hannah's care or mentioned in background material. As with Eli, linguistic motifs are used to describe him; these we have already discussed (the 'serving' and 'growing' motifs). Although the SV = participle motif, 'serving', aligns him formally with Eli, he is here Actor of a transitive verb, and depicted in a process of continuous achievement. In the call story we see him galvanised into action unwittingly by Yahweh's call: he is subject of a large number of punctual verbs.

3.3.5 ELI'S SONS

Note how Eli's sons are never established as topic or appear as subject of event-line verbs. Even when the ark is brought into the field, they are still characterised linguistically as background by a relational clause, 'and the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phineas, were there with the ark', 4:4b. However, in the light of chapter 2 (their corrupt behaviour) we may see this clause as foregrounded: it presages Israel's doom. Even their death is narrated as part of a report listing the disasters of the day, and it is the ark which is eventually singled out from the list.

3.3.6 YAHWEH

Superficially Yahweh is also not a stable topic. He is off the event-line, 1:6, acts through an intermediary, 2:27ff, and only at Samuel's call is he brought into the temporal sequence of the event-line, but he chiefly speaks, i.e. is projected from within the action-line and is especially associated with verbs expressing future action without qualification. Thus, though his presence is reticent, he is omnitemporal, linguistically expressed by verbs of anteriority and futurity.

3.3.7 A final way in which character is evolved is through speech. Of interest here is not only what is said but who speaks and to whom and how, i.e. whether mediated or not.

TABLE 3:3: SPEECH ALLOCATION ROLES

Yahweh	Samuel	Eli	Hannah	Elkanah	Sons	
		x	x			INDIRECT Yahweh
	x					DIRECT Yahweh
x		x				Samuel
	x		x		x	Eli
x		x		x		Hannah
			x			Elkanah
						Sons

Of note: only with Samuel does Yahweh speak directly; with Eli, however, through a prophet; with Hannah he speaks in kind, i.e. the birth of children. Eli himself never addresses Yahweh directly, but twice refers to him indirectly (liturgically). Hannah speaks to Yahweh in prayers, and it is this and her sacrifice and fidelilty which brings an answer to her first prayer, and the blessing of further offspring: Eli's liturgical prayers are merely associated with Hannah's powerful stance toward the deity. Eli's sons are addressed by their father but address no one themselves.

3.4 CONCLUSION

3.4.1 The Verb and the Linguistic Creation of Story Gestalt¹⁰

In I Samuel 1-4 we have observed the following:

1. waw-consecutive imperfect to create the contour of the event-line (the narrative-consecutive) VS.
2. the aspectual imperfect/waw-consecutive perfect to side-step the event-line to encompass it with a greater time-span VS.
3. the aspectual ('vivid') imperfect to highlight a situation SV.
4. perfect to describe events not on the time-line, especially those anterior to it, SV (VS in 'ky' clauses).
5. participle to describe attendant circumstances, SV.
6. relational clauses (verbed/verbless) to create the backdrop against which the waw-consecutive event-line is seen, S(V).

Thus gestalt formulation involves tense/aspect, word order, clause type and also lexis (use of aspectual type verbs rbh, ysp, etc., and stative verbs such as zqn). The situation in speech is different with regard to verb forms used to realise foreground,

when that foreground concerns projected events. This is especially the case with prayers of request and prophetic oracles. In the latter there may be a realis event-line (i.e., in the narrative of a 'because' section) which functions as background to the irrealis projected event-line. The table following gives statistics for verb forms in narrative and in speech.

TABLE 3.4: VERB FORMS 1-4

	wyyqtl	qtl	wqtl	yqtl	Impv	Ptc	Relational Clause
NARRA- TIVE	114	a29	b13	c14	-	11	25
DIAG- LOGUE	3	28	9	18	11	4	11
ORACLE	1	7	6	12	1	3	1
POETRY	2	9	-	8	2	9	3
	6	44	15	38	14	16	15

- a. 13 with anterior meaning of which 10 are in 'ky' clauses.
- b. frequentatives
- c. 8 with frequentative meaning

The domination of waw-consecutive imperfect is apparent in narrative, whereas in speech there is an equi-dominance of perfect and imperfect with a virtual absence of the consecutive form. Although the speech forms are often concerned with the future, a waw-consecutive-perfect event-line seldom gets established owing to non-VS, i.e. marked thematic word order. In speech the affective and conative aspects are to the fore, and functional sentence perspective (Theme/Rheme organisation) becomes important:

TABLE 3.5: MARKED THEMES

	<u>Main clause</u>	<u>Subordinate clause</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Narrative</u>	3	1	4
<u>Speech</u>	12	5	17

17/21 Marked Themes are found in non-narratives. Notice that 15/21 (= narrative) are main clauses as one would expect.

3.4.2 SV ORDER

TABLE 3.6: SV WITH PERFECT/PARTICIPLE

	<u>Main Clause</u>		<u>Subordinate Clause</u>	
	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Ptc</u>	<u>Perfect</u>	<u>Ptc</u>
NARRATIVE	14	16	1	1
SPEECH	23	5		2
	—	—	—	—
	27	21	1	3

- a. The usual verb form is perfect or participle.
- b. SV = perfect is common in both narrative and speech, whereas SV = participle is at home in narrative where it has a typical background function; in speech it competes with impfect/waw-consecutive perfect as a future tense.
- c. SV is predominantly a main clause phenomenon (only one perfect 4:6, and two participles, 3:8, 3:13 in subordinate clauses). This seems to be due to the conservative nature of 'ky' clauses in retaining an older VS order.¹¹ Presumably this has to do with the fact that the 'ky' in itself signals interruption of the event-line, whereas in the event-line a

main clause requires word order as an explicit signal.

- d. Whereas SV = participle has the fairly uniform function of expressing temporal continuity as a backdrop to event-line actions, SV = perfect has a number of uses.
 - i. anteriority
 - ii. topic (re)introduction
 - iii. emphasis

In summary, SV order is a temporal-sequence interruption device.

3.4.3 TABLE 3.7

SUMMARY OF TYPICAL BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND LINGUISTIC FEATURES

<u>BACKGROUND</u>	<u>FOREGROUND</u>
SV	VS
Relational clauses	Clauses with action verbs
Subordinate (including relative) clauses	Main clauses
Modality of Irrealis	Modalilty of realis
Negative polarity	Positive polarity
Participles	Finite forms
Frequentatives	Punctual verbs
Perfect	waw-consecutive imperfect
Passive voice	Active voice

3.4.4 TABLE 3.8

FUNCTIONS OF BACKGROUND/FOREGROUND CONFIGURATION

<u>BACKGROUND</u>	<u>FOREGROUND</u>
States and processes	Actions
Scene-setting	Topic stability
Description	Human
Information	Temporal continuity
Explanation	Implied causality
Motivation	
Topic reservoir	
Non-human	

3.4.5 GENERAL REFLECTIONS

Whatever the origin of the verbal form in the waw-consecutive construction, it clearly became for a long period the means of constructing the foreground contour: a tense of pure narration. The events it describes are complete: they are well-defined and discrete; to reapply Eisenstein's words, as though hewn out with 'the ax of the lens' (IIb Eisenstein 1949, p. 41).) The image of the camera's impersonal view-point captures well the apparent self-effacing of the narrator. The waw-consecutive form seems to describe pure event with no narrator. And yet these pure events are linked together in a time sequence with a causal binding

subtly insinuated. The linking and binding is more apparent in Biblical Hebrew than other languages with a simple past of narration, by virtue of the waw: a cross between a clitic and an inflexion. Its very presence signals sequentiality, and when it begins a narrative, it seems to link that particular narrative to all narratives, to the very process whereby human beings make sense of their world. In a sense the waw-consecutive imperfect is not a past tense at all. Just like other past tenses of narration, it can be said to be indifferent to time, and readers do indeed read as though themselves witnesses of the narrated events. It is rather a means of cognising reality. Not to choose this form is to cognise events as other than pure event. It is to shift the perspective: hence the use of the perfect for time relations other than sequentiality (anterior, contemporary). When an imperfect is used preceded by any other sentence element, it is not a narrative imperfect. Neutrality is abandoned; the event is lingered over (to use film imagery again) like a close-up. The perfect with waw belongs to the sphere of irrealis and is a kind of mimesis of the waw with imperfect: a conjectural event-line. In its frequentative use the former is a condensation of many waw-consecutive imperfect event-lines.

Our survey of narrative gestalt reveals a deeply felt need of human beings to posit a world in which there are discrete, causally linked, objective events. In Robert Musil's words, 'the law of narrative (is) that simple order that consists of our being able to say: "when that happened, then this occurred also"'

(quoted in IIb, Pascal 1977 p.150). The pleroma of phenomena is the essential backdrop against which we cognise this constructed orderliness. Its very presence guarantees order such that we can permit and enjoy, whilst still feeling secure, deformation of the time-line (as Genette's time category of order, duration, frequency demonstrates (IIb Genette 1980). Long shots and close-ups, rapid and lingering shots, flash-backs and flash-forwards jostle with each other, but always the narrative thread is resumed.

The following table gives the ratio of event-line to non-event-line.

TABLE 3.9: RATIO OF EVENT-LINE TO NON-EVENT LINE IN CHAPTERS 1-4

	No. of lines	%
<u>event-line</u>	42	25
<u>non-event line</u>	133	75

The non-event line figure can be further broken down.

<u>non-event line</u>		
+ <u>speech</u>	70	40
- <u>speech</u>	63	35

The pulsating organic thread of event-line weaves its way through the complex of explanatory and evaluative material, guaranteeing order and banishing anarchy. There may be few indications of the objective passage of time: it is subjective time created by the waw consecutive sequencing which is actually projected as objective time. All this reveals how narrative creates a world, one carved out of the continuum of reality which is mediated to us linguistically. No wonder Roland Barthes can say of the *passé simple*, the French equivalent of the waw consecutive that

Derrière le passé se cache toujours un démiurge, dieu ou récitant; le monde n'est pas inexplicable lorsqu'on le récite...

Le *passé simple* est donc finalement l'expression d'un ordre et par conséquent d'une euphorie. Grâce à lui, la réalité n'est ni mystérieuse, ni absurde; elle est claire, presque familière... (IIb Barthes 1953, p.26).

(Behind the 'simple past' there always lurks a demiurge, a god or a narrator; the world is no longer inexplicable in the act of narration

The simple past is ultimately the expression of order and thus of euphoria. By dint of this form reality is neither mysterious nor meaningless; it is intelligible, almost familiar).

CHAPTER 3

FOOTNOTES

1. The terms *fabula/suzhet* are Russian Formalist, whilst *histoire/recit* are characteristic of French narrative theory. Unfortunately, English renderings vary widely.
2. Barthes (IIb 1982, p. 265) speaks of nuclear functions in the event-line, which are filled out with hinge functions i.e. subordinate actions that reinforce the temporal sequence and naturalise the action.
3. For Stephen Heath's notion of 'narrative violence' see Thompson (IIb 1950, pp. 42-44).
4. The interpretation of the verb morphological forms of Biblical Hebrew presupposes Gesenius (Ib Cowley 1910) and S R Driver (Ib 1892). For a survey of the theories in respect of the *qtl/yqtl* forms, see McFall (Ib 1982). The traditional terms 'perfect' (*qtl*) and 'imperfect' (*yqtl*) will be used here and elsewhere purely as convenient labels.

5. To add to the confusion, Halliday has as a subform of the Process : relational clause a circumstantial type, which refers to clauses where the complement expresses e.g. location, as in the example cited from I Samuel 1:1a.
6. For the 'vivid' use of yqtl forms, see S R Driver (Ib 1892, pp 36-37)
7. For the backgrounding force of the participle, see S R Driver (Ib 1892, pp. 194-195).
8. In such explicit speech-acts English has the simple present form, whereas Biblical Hebrew uses the qtl form.
9. For the term 'hermeneutic code', which describes an enigma posed by the text, see Barthes (IIb 1970, p. 26).
10. See Givón (Ib 1977, pp. 198-211) for a summary of word-order and function in early Biblical Hebrew.
11. See Givón (Ib 1977, pp. 210-211). It should be noted that ky is both a conjunction of contingency and of time.

CHAPTER 4

THE LINGUISTIC PATTERNING OF NARRATIVE

II SAMUEL 11-12

PREFACE TO CHAPTER 4

The linguistic analysis of II Samuel 11-12 will be more comprehensive and detailed than in the previous passage and will demonstrate how meaning is a complex interaction of patterns in the text. In the conclusion I shall suggest that systemic stylistics can be a critical linguistics which, because it conceptualises language as a socio-semantic function, can comment on the ideological stance of a text.

4.1 INTRODUCTION

4.1.1 In II Samuel 11-12 we have a story which has all the ingredients of success: a powerful king, a former guerilla leader, is cast by the narrator in the role of a voyeur watching a lovely woman taking a bath. A night of passion ensues and eventually pregnancy. Then we meet the woman's 'NCO' husband, straight from the battle-field, stubbornly dedicated to duty, something the king at other times would find admirable, but not on this occasion: a little human weakness is needed, just like the king's, but no, the man will not go to bed with his beautiful wife but insists on sleeping on the royal premises. So the king has to engineer his death and sends a signal to his army commander, a compliant and, luckily, intelligent man who carries out David's intention. David can now have as many nights of love as he wants, legitimately, but his pleasure is spoilt by a prophet as cunning as David himself: he catches David out with a story. David now acts like a king, condemning injustice and so condemns himself. The prophet unmask himself, and the great David is reduced to a confession of sin and then to fighting a battle of a totally different kind from the one he chose to abstain from at the beginning. The child's death effects reconciliation, and David eventually goes to the front, where he should have been all the time, to enjoy the fruits of Joab's labours on his behalf a second time. All ends well but at great cost.

4.1.2 The reader stays behind with David in Jerusalem most of the

time with the exception of the brief scene at the front, 11:16-21. She experiences frequent suspense: what will the woman's husband do? What will the fate of the coming child be? How is David going to cover up? Will he get away with it all? There are even teasing thoughts: Why does David remain behind at a time when kings go to war? The narrator chooses a variety of forms to make the narrative interesting: straight narrative, messages, dialogue, embedded story. How easy for the narrator to have introduced God's lecture, 12:7bff, sooner at 12:1. Instead, David is educated to see his folly with a story. The narrator lets us witness a plethora of human qualities and emotions: lust, deceit, cunning, stubbornness, desperation, shrewdness, callousness, indignation, fear, tenderness. And the reader will experience a broad range of feelings: anger and pity and perplexity.

4.2 THE LINGUISTIC CONSTRUCTION OF THE CHARACTERS

4.2.1 Even a cursory reading of the story shows that David is the focus of the narrator's interest throughout. He is physically absent from a scene only 11:16-21, where the messenger is being instructed by Joab, and here the theme of the instruction deals with the problem of how to inform David, and words are put into his mouth. This overall dominance is confirmed by the linguistic evidence:

TABLE 4.1: LINGUISTIC EXPRESSIONS REFERRING TO DAVID

1.	<u>as noun</u>	36
	a. subject of verb	23
	b. in prepositional phrase	10
	c. post-head qualifier	3
2.	<u>as pronominal/morphological</u>	
	a. <u>3rd person as</u>	
	i. implied subject, i.e. marked only by inflexion of verb	27
	ii. in prepositional phrase	8
	iii. direct object	1
	b. <u>2nd person as</u>	
	iv. subject	8
	v. direct object	2
	vi. in prepositional phrase	6
	vii. possessive	11
	c. <u>1st person as</u>	
	viii. subject	8

There are more than one hundred references to David in a variety of grammatical forms. In particular, note:

as third person subject, David is referred to frequently using the proper noun (23) compared with implied subject (27). We have a ratio of about 1:1 for the use of the proper noun.

David is direct object only three times, two of which refer to David as object of the divine graces: 'anointed you', 'delivered you', 27.

in the prepositional phrase, 12/24, express the Recipient of process:mental (Verbaliser) verbs, 1 + 'David'/pronoun, of which eight are followed by direct speech with an informative move (i.e., conveying of information).

4.2.2 We can sharpen our understanding of David's role vis-à-vis the other characters by examining the transitivity patterns.

TABLE 4.2: VERB ANALYSIS

Character	v: + t	v: - t	Actor	dir obj
				+ human
<u>David</u>	37(45%)	45(55%)	64(78%)	16/34(78%)
<u>Bathsheba</u>	4(3%)	8(69%)	10(69%)	3/3
<u>Uriah</u>	1(5%)	18(95%)	16(84%)	0/1
<u>Yahweh</u>	17(76%)	4(24%)	14(80%)	8/13(61%)
<u>Joab</u>	12(75%)	4(26%)	15(95%)	6/12(50%)

The following stands out:

1. All the main characters are engaged in activity (by nature of them being subjects of verbs process:material with Actor as subject).
2. Uriah is conspicuous as subject of only one transitive verb.
3. 11/18 of the Uriah verbs are verbs of movement and 13/18 are normally intransitive.
4. Significant of David's salient role: he is seven times subject of 'send' (11:1-27) and ten times subject of 'say' (Ch 11/12). David's activity in part one of the story, chapter 11, evinced by 'send', is balanced in part two, chapter 12, by a concentration of nine transitive verbs with

David as subject (12:9-10: here Yahweh accentuates David's role as Agent in chapter 11), and by a further concentration of nine verbs, 12:20, + transitive expressing a complex of actions after the child's death. Here David regains control, but of himself rather than of an external situation.

5. Most interesting of all are the direct objects = Patient (+ human). David's actions affect sixteen patients (twenty of which include 'Yahweh') against eight Patients for Yahweh, whilst Bathsheba has three and Uriah none at all. Joab with his derived authority affects six Patients.

4.2.3 It turns out that the 55 per cent intransitivity figure for David and the 95 per cent for Uriah work in opposite directions. Look at the breakdown of the Uriah verbs.

TABLE 4.3: VERBS WITH SUBJECT = URIAH

<u>Verbs of movement</u>	come <u>bw'</u> 3, go out <u>ys'</u> 2, go down
	<u>yrd</u> 4
<u>of state</u>	sleep 2, remain
<u>others</u>	eat 2, drink 2, lie, die 2

Figure = number of occurrences.

Uriah's life during these days in Jerusalem on leave is made very basic and circumscribed for him by David: it comprises a to-ing

and fro-ing punctuated by lying down to sleep and meal-taking. He is subject to the will of others (Patient eight times). However, Uriah is not spineless. David's command, 11:8, (realised by two imperatives) is challenged by Uriah: he does not go down to his house, v9b. This becomes an important motif in the relationship between David and Uriah, realised linguistically thus:

TABLE 4.4: THE 'GO DOWN' MOTIF

11:8	Go down
9	He did not go down
10	Uriah did not go down
10	Why did you not go down
11	Shall I (<u>'ny</u>) go?
13	He did not go down
	'go down' <u>yrd</u> 5; go <u>bw</u> 1

It is difficult to know how shrewd Uriah is. Is his obstinacy a matter of duty, as 11:11 suggests, or of suspicion?

4.2.4 It is David and Yahweh who exercise power in the narrative. David is subject of thirty-seven transitive verbs, twenty of which have direct object: Patient = person, and Yahweh subject of seventeen transitive verbs, eight of which have Patient = person. Until the explicit intervention of Yahweh through Nathan at 12:7, David's control of situations and his exercise of power is demonstrated also by the imperative mood (and also by declarative

mood verbs descriptive of speech-acts, e.g. send 11:1, 4. The use of 'send' šlh will be examined later at 4.3.1.

TABLE 4.5: DAVID'S USE OF THE IMPERATIVE MOOD

11:6	send	to Joab	12:6	he shall restore
8	go down			(Hebrew 'let' form)
	wash	to Uriah		
12	remain			
15	set			
25	do not .. trouble			
	strengthen	to Joab		
	overthrow			
	encourage	to messenger		

Only Joab as David's army commander is subject of verbs describing speech acts = orders, and this is a delegated authority. In marked contrast, Yahweh is not associated with the imperative mood. However, just as the situation is developed at the beginning of the story by David's twofold act of sending (first Joab and the army, then messengers), so Yahweh's intervention is marked by an act of sending, 12:1. The divine speech, 12:7-12, contains entirely verbs in the indicative mood: the focus of the section, 12:7-9, is on the past (Yahweh's generosity toward David), hence the predominance of the past tense. In 12:10-12 the focus shifts to the future: six of the nine verbs are future tense, and of the three which are past, two are in adverbial

clauses of reason. The change from past to future is marked by a discourse adjunct ‘tth ‘now then’, v10a.

The messenger formula, ‘Thus says Yahweh’, 12:7, 11, signals that Nathan speaks as one who has been instructed cf. 11:19a. Whilst the discourse adjunct marks the transition from past to future and hence from accusation to punishment, the second occurrence of the messenger formula v11 (reinforced by the focaliser hnnny ‘behold!’), which may have been expected at v10, refocuses and underlines that part of the punishment condign to David’s crime: his taking of someone’s wife will be matched by someone taking his wives. In 12:13 we hear of David’s submission to Yahweh’s indictment; authority has been employed to indict authority, and David now to the end of the Bathsheba story does not exercise power tyrannically. He knows himself up against a superior power and authority, and so in the episode of the child’s illness and death, vv15-23, we see David behaving in a different way to obtain his ends from earlier on. There are no imperative verbs here. Note especially the frequent use of ‘fast’ (four times) and ‘eat’ (three times). The key to what is happening is in v16: David besought Yahweh; in this context David cannot issue orders, cannot use others as tools; his royal power is of no avail here, but the man is not defeated: he will try to wrest what he wants from the divine. The ritual action following upon the notice of David’s decision to plead with Yahweh is described with some detail, 16b: “David fasted and went and spent the night and lay on the ground.” The space devoted to the elders’ reaction,

vv17-18, (their attempts to divert him and their fear, consequent on the child's death, of breaking the news) helps underline the intensity of David's actions. David galvanizes himself into an impressive concentration of activity on learning of the child's death, v20, 'David arose from the earth, and washed and anointed himself, and changed his clothes and went into the house of Yahweh and worshipped and went to his own house and asked and they set food before him and he ate.' This is circumstantial indeed and marks David's abandonment of the fast. As one who himself has power, he both knows the limit of his own power and how to admit defeat. The realism of the rejoinder, v23, expresses David's philosophic attitude to the inexorable power of death.

4.2.5 Because Bathsheba makes only three brief appearances in the story, 11:2-5, 11:26-27, 12:24, she is easily overlooked, but linguistically the character is deserving of an extensive comment.

4.2.5.1 TABLE 4.6: REFERENCES TO BATHSHEBA

1. a woman 11:2; the woman 11:2, 3, 5.
2. Bathsheba, daughter of Eliam; wife of Uriah the Hittite 11:3
3. Bathsheba 12:24.
4. wife 11:3, 26, 27, 12:9 (x 2), 10 (x 2), and in particular

- a. wife of Uriah the Hittite 11:3, 26, 12:10
- b. his wife (David's) (Hebrew: to him as wife 11:27);
- c. his wife (Uriah's) - your wife (David's) (Hebrew, to 'you as wife') 12:9.
- d. wife of Uriah the Hittite - your wife (David's) (Hebrew, 'to you as wife') 12:10.

'Woman' (indefinite) is a neutral description of what David sees; the first two uses of 'the woman' simply express a particular woman of interest to David. No more is known about her at that stage, so no other description is feasible. However, by 11:5 the identity of the woman has been established (no 2) and David has made love to her. Yet she is still designated 'the woman', which now takes on a tone of disparagement. 'The woman' here is the one who has been summoned, taken, penetrated and allowed to go home. There is no hint of courtship but of immediate satisfaction of lust. Before 'he took', 'he sent messengers', v4a. Is the plural suggestive that he contemplated force if necessary? Lust is activated by the sight of the bathing women and overrides all considerations: her legal ties and even the ritual period of purification, which also serves as a hint of future trouble for David: Bathsheba is fertile and will soon begin ovulation. 'The woman' thus expresses David's attitude to Bathsheba and works retroactively on the two earlier uses. Bathsheba's identification (no 2) is the usual Old Testament style: she is someone's daughter and someone's wife. Here the name Bathsheba is purely formal (the registrar's use). This means that it is only at the

end of the story that her name is used with any sense of designating Bathsheba as a person in her own right in a context of human relations, 12:24. Even here, however, 'his wife' comes first in the description. And so it is that elsewhere the other six usages of 'wife' indicate Bathsheba as a person whose primary status is that she belongs to someone else. 4c and d set up a dialectic with Bathsheba as 'possession' each time modified by a grammatical feature = possession. The force of the indictment is that such a dialectic should never have arisen: her status was that of belonging to Uriah. Thus when Uriah's death is reported to Bathsheba, 11:26, she is described as Uriah's wife and significantly only here Uriah is designated twice as 'husband'. It is twenty-one verses after his introduction that the text officially informs us that Uriah was Bathsheba's husband; the text reflects David's disregard of this hard fact. In the formal charge, although Uriah is then dead, never is it expressed as 'you have slain Bathsheba's husband'. In contrast, Uriah is designated Uriah twenty-three times (seven as Uriah the Hittite:- introduction 1; official report 3, Yahweh's indictment 3, i.e., in formal contexts). Uriah exists as a person in his own right. That is a sociological fact, and hence even the king has to resort to cunning and base strategy, because he has seized another person's property: a woman. The expression 11:25 'this thing' (RSV 'matter') ostensibly referring to the débâcle at the city gate is a covert reference to Uriah and Bathsheba, and along with the mapping of Uriah as Instrument at 11:14 shows how David's ruthlessness completely undermines Uriah's and Bathsheba's status.

'Your servant', 11:21b, 24b, is conventional language required in a report. But in the wake of the story of Uriah's refusal 'to go down', it acquires an ironic feel: Uriah refused to serve David; he asserts his rights as an individual despite David's undermining of status.

4.2.5 Bathsheba is further defined:

1. Grammatically

subject of 'conceive' 11:5, of 'bear' 11:27, 12:15, 12:24

direct object of 'take' lqh 11:4, 12:9, 10;

'brought' ('sp) 11:27

in a prepositional phrase after 'lay' 'with her' 11:4, 12:24.

2. Lexically

Nominal modifiers are a rarity in Hebrew prose so that the two applied to Bathsheba are noteworthy, both in relational clauses: attributive 'very beautiful' and 'with child', hrh , 11:2, 5.

These along with the other lexis of 'conceive', 'bear', 'son'/'child', 'purifying uncleanness', define the woman as sexual entity primarily. The only words Bathsheba speaks are 'I am with child', 12:5.

4.2.6 CONVERSATIONAL EXCHANGES

David's centrality is also confirmed by the numerous exchanges.

TABLE 4.7: PARTICIPANTS IN EXCHANGES (face-to-face/message)

CORRESPONDENT OF EXCHANGE						INITIATOR
Others	Nathan	Bath- sheba	Uriah	Joab	David	
1					2	Others
					1	Nathan
					1	Bathsheba
						Uriah
					2	Joab
2			2	3		David

i.e., David initiates seven/fourteen exchanges and is correspondent in six of the remaining seven. Only the elders talk among themselves and even their topic of conversation is David (I have excluded Joab's messenger whose function is to receive and pass on, but if we included him as a correspondent, even there David is topic, and not only topic, but (possibly) even initiator of an 'imaginary' exchange!)

It is significant that in chapter 11, before Nathan's appearance, David is shown as taking the initiative in exchanges: he asks questions and gives orders. After Nathan's rebuke David is on the defensive: he is the one now on the receiving end giving replies and obeying orders.

4.3 MOTIFS AND PATTERNS

4.3.1 SEND

TABLE 4.8: ANALYSIS OF 'SEND' שִׁלַּח

	SUB- JECT	VERB	OB- JECT	RECIP- IENT	INSTRU- MENT	RESULT
11:1	David	Send	Joab et al			they ravaged et al
3	David	Send				one said
4	David	Send	messengers			she came
5	(Bathsheba)	Send				David sent
6a	David	Send		Joab		
	(Joab)	Send ¹	Uriah	(David)		Joab sent
6b	Joab	Send	Uriah	David		Uriah came
14	(David)	Send			Uriah	(Joab) assigned
18	Joab	Send				the messenger told
22	Joab	Send	(messenger)			to tell [purpose]
27	David	Send				he brought
12:1	Yahweh	Send	Nathan	David		he said
25	(Yahweh)	Send			Nathan	he called
27	Joab	Send	messengers	David		David gathered etc

() subject expressed by verb morphology
→ ← refers to
1. imperative mood

The act of sending is especially associated generally with deity, royalty and other powerful people. This is borne out here where all the acts of sending but one (11:5) are executed by Yahweh, Joab (with derivative authority) and, above all, David. The minimum construction is

sender + verb + intimation of result

If the construction is expanded, it may be done so in two ways:

1. sender + verb + messenger + recipient
- or 2. sender + verb + instrument (person bearing a message
with latter implicitly understood as
direct object).

Type 2 is exclusively concerned with the sending of messages and occurs here only twice. These two instances of type 2 differ: Uriah as Instrument is foregrounded. We do not expect people to carry their own death sentence as Uriah does. Nathan as Yahweh's instrument, however, is doing what one expects a prophet to do. Uriah is treated by David as a messenger elsewhere, 11:7, a rôle probably inappropriate for his status, and a further devaluation of him. Notice how the narrator, 11:7-8, does not even bother to record Uriah's reply to David's threefold inquiry. It is irrelevant to David. Type 1, the commoner, describes the act of empowering a person to carry out a mission, be it the conveying of a message as in 12:27, or the execution of some other act as in

11:1. Both usages confirm David as central figure.

David as	subject	= sender	6
	direct object	= sent one	0
	recipient		4 explicit and 4 implicit

David occupies 50 per cent of the privileged functions and is never himself sent. There is one instance where Joab sends independently of higher authority, 12:27, and although this is formally a request to David to come to the front to claim the fruits of victory, effectively Joab is reminding David where he ought to have been in the first place: at war, not at love-making. The irony is, of course, that David absenting himself from the war nevertheless deals in killing, and the killing of one of his own men!

Bathsheba only once sends and as the victim of the powerful pathetically imitates the powerful. Her communication of the pregnancy is essential information for the reader; it could have been reported by the narrator. Why is Bathsheba numbered among those who send? It may be for the reason just given: pathos, but there is another possibility. Is she herself cunningly exercising power over David, the power of a woman over a man who fears embarrassment? Bathsheba may see an opportunity for ambition here, and later in I Kings 1:15ff, she fights for her son's succession to the throne. At any rate, the simple statement, 'I

am with child', galvanises David into action as effectively as any of David's orders do others.

Although Yahweh sends only twice against David's six occasions, it is the first divine act of sending which deprives David of the initiative in the exercise of power from 12:1 onwards, and it is the second sending which restores David, such that he can give himself to kingly business once more, 12:26ff. Yahweh's interventions are marked by SV order.

I ('nky (emphatic)) anointed you king over Israel and I ('nky) delivered you out of the hand of Saul 12:7 - commencement of Nathan's oracle (preface to accusation).

Yahweh also (gm yhwh) has put away your sin 12:13 - commuting of death-sentence against David.

and Yahweh loved him, 12:24 - acceptance of the second-born and completion of David's restoration.

In the last instance the SV order interrupts a sequence of five VS clauses and is followed itself by another two. It is thus marked and removes Yahweh's act towards the child from the interlocked chain of human actions and hints at something new, Solomon's eventual accession.

4.3.1.1 The marked use of 'send' is an indication of the importance of the message in the story. The text handles the message component in a dense and ambiguous manner, 11:14-24: David's message to Joab and Joab's subsequent reply. In this section there are no less than three accounts of Uriah's death.

1. David's account of how it should happen, 11:15.
2. The Narrator's account of how it did happen, 11:16-17.
3. The Messenger's (Joab's) account to David, 11:23-24.

4.3.1.2 Now see how the matter of the engineered death is handled.

David he will (RSV, that he may) be struck down nkh and he will die (RSV, and die), 11:15.

Narrator and some of the servants of David among the people fell and Uriah the Hittite died (RSV was slain), also 11:17.

Joab and some of the king's servants died and also your servant Uriah, the Hittite, is dead, also 11:24.

Only in 11:15 does David speak bluntly of Uriah's fate: strike down, die; elsewhere he distances himself, 'this thing' (RSV matter) 11:25, a vague nominal despite the deictic 'this', which suppresses both actor and patient and even action. Joab however must be clear about what is required. The narrator, 11:16-17,

uses a conventional term 'fall', to describe the fate of David's picked men (the regulars?); Uriah is singled out, using the particulariser gm (RSV 'also'), gm your servant Uriah the Hittite is dead, 11:24. In Joab's report, 14:23-24, the distinctive lexis of dying in battle disappears at this point and the all-purpose 'die' is used alone; Uriah is singled out '(is) dead' = stative, almost as if he might not have died in battle.

Note the use of verb forms: will die, waw-consecutive perfect:future (action), died, waw-consecutive imperfect: past (action) (is) dead, participle (state.) There is a movement towards distancing: David is spared the action form and presented with the enduring result of his order. (The syntax shifts from VS 'and some of the king's servants died' (RSV 'are dead'))' to SV with topic prominence and disengagement from the action-chain.) However, in Nathan's oracle, Yahweh confronts David with 'you have smitten *nkh* Uriah the Hittite, echoing 11:15 (in the Hebrew) where *nkh* is passive. Yahweh disambiguates the agency and, bypassing the immediate cause of death, names David as the ultimate agent.

4.3.1.3 David's plan, 11:15, seems unworkable, yet it is an order. Does David really mean Joab to engineer a stratagem such that Uriah could be left exposed? Joab would need to command or bribe a platoon to abandon Uriah suddenly. We can understand David's words in one of two ways: either David is feeling too desperate to think clearly, or the narrator gives us the gist of the message: Uriah is to die in battle (and his death is to be

engineered without additional loss of life?). In both cases David's attention is focused on the death of Uriah alone. Joab's response is to assign Uriah to the place where 'valiant men were'. This could be a reference to a crack squad of vanguard troops, or it could refer to the foe. Immediately afterwards the text says, v17, and the men of the city came out.' This suggests that they were at the time of Uriah's positioning not before the city gates. We would need to read 'where valient men would be', i.e. Uriah is positioned where he would be most vulnerable to an enemy break-out. Did Joab count on the vanguard withdrawing to the main body of the besieging force in event of a sudden sally and on Uriah, whom we will have seen to be of an obstinate nature, heroically holding his ground: a 'where I have been stood, there I stay' mentality? The outcome, whatever the plan, is that Uriah is caught out by the sally, but in such a way that he and others die in the fight which takes them beneath the walls.

Joab has to report on the latest events of the war. He needs to transmit two things in particular, (1) an explanation for loss of life in a position where a wise commander would not allow his men to be, (2) the death of Uriah. Joab intends to contrive this with the second piece of information immediately following on the first, in this way placating David's anger which he foresees. With the text as it stands, there are difficulties. Joab's instruction is that the news of Uriah's death be divulged only if the king become angry and censure Joab for the needless loss of life. However, at vv22-23 the messenger intimates Uriah's death

immediately after an account of the counter-attack without any indication that David had censured Joab. Furthermore, ky, 'when', 'for' (not RSV) the men gained an advantage' suggests that we are given only the latter part of the message delivered; it may, however, suggest a response to a question. And indeed, the Septuagint (LXX) after v22 adds v16 and vv20-21 with almost identical wording. This would explain the 'ky' and the divulgence of Uriah's death. It also throws a new light on the original message to Joab. It could be that Joab is not using his own initiative to fulfil an impossible royal command, but is acting according to David's instructions in the message of v15, which included also details of how the news of the outcome was to be conveyed without arousing suspicion. It may be that David had foreseen the necessity of an attack to the very walls. The narrator hints at both plan and risk. Whatever, the LXX inclusion explains Joab's 'if', v20. Joab knows that David will say this; otherwise, disregarding LXX, we have to understand the 'if' to mean 'in case the king's anger should arise, you shall say ...', if we are to explain the messenger's apparent discrepancy.

Certainly, the mention of Abimelech, v21, sounds odd in Joab's instruction; it has a pre-arranged feeling about it. Unless it was proverbial. It is extremely ironic if David suggested this, since Abimelech was a scoundrel who became a king by murder: David became king legitimately, and subsequently plays the scoundrel and engages in murder! The questions in which this reference occurs anticipates an answer along the lines, 'Yes, I

realised the risk, but it was necessary because ...' v23 broadly fulfils this. It seems that we should understand the narrator to be using summaries in 11:14-24. vv22-23 suggests this: v23 should not be seen as following on v22 in temporal succession, i.e., he told David all that Joab had sent him to tell and then he said additionally; rather, v23 is part of the totality, reported v22, which the messenger told David. The narrator ushers us in towards the end of the relaying, at the climax. Likewise, we can understand 'In the letter he wrote', v15, and perhaps 'he instructed the messenger' v19. In this way the 'ky' v23 is explained: more is presupposed but not the LXX infilling. If it is pre-arranged, the king has already uttered the cue words (v20-21); if not, the messenger reacts to David's facial expression or is acting upon a cue to forestall.

4.3.2 THE MOTIF OF THE "HOUSE"

This is a much simpler motif but quite effective.

TABLE 4.9: MOTIF OF THE "HOUSE"

David's house 8: house of the king 11:2, 8, 9; his house 11:27;
your house 12:10, 11, 17, 20.

Bathsheba's house 1: her house 11:4.

Uriah's house 6: his house 11:9, 10, 13; your house 11:8, 10; my

house 11:11.

Yahweh's house 1: house of Yahweh 12:10.

Nathan's house 1: his house 12:15.

Sundry 2: house of your master 12:8; house of Israel
and Judah 12:8.

TOTAL 19

The word does appear to be foregrounded, especially in the Uriah category, where the six occurrences come in six verses. The David group is fairly evenly spread through the story. In sequence they all appear thus:

David walked about on the roof of the house of the king -

she returned to her house - go down to ^{my} your house (= Uriah)
- his

David brought her to his house - I gave you the house of your master .. and the house of Israel and Judah - the sword shall not depart from your house ... evil out of your house - Nathan went to his house - elders of his house stood beside him - David went to the house of Yahweh and he went to his house -

[Solomon. And Yahweh loved him ...]

The first episode of the story begins with a house, where David's

lust is activated and ends at a house, to which the object of David's lust returns. However, 'her house' is then seen as Uriah's house in the next episode, and here the word functions exclusively as an adjunct of place = direction after verbs of movement (go down, yrđ). It expresses the object and goal of David's plan and behind it lurks 'her house', the house where Uriah can have intercourse with his wife and so cover up David's illicit dealings. Uriah completely associates house with love-making, 11:11b, where we have the series 'go down to my house to eat and drink and lie with my wife.' Note how here Bathsheba is simply listed as one of three natural functions. This depersonalising is present in all the references to Uriah's house, and this observation needs to be added to the discussion of Bathsheba in the section on phraseology. David's failure results ironically in the achievement, probably unforeseen, of locating Bathsheba in his house. There follows two uses of 'house' to describe the divine generosity to David with the implication of ingratitude and dissatisfaction; he coveted Uriah's house as well. This is the 'more' Yahweh could never have added, at least not in the way David managed it. It is condign that punishment is linked to David's house. Nathan's departure to his house marks the end of the divine message of indictment and the beginning of punishment. The elders of David's house themselves are affected by the divine proceedings; the process of reconciliation begins with David's visit to Yahweh's house and his return to his own house. This carries the unexpected twist: the second child of a relationship begun in lustful adultery and facilitated by murder

is the recipient of the divine favour, and there is a hint here to the sensitive reader who will recall the promise of II Sam 7, where house is a central motif. See especially 7:11b-12. Will Solomon be the one to realise the promise of a house for David? So the house of David is made possible by the obtinacy of a shrewd soldier who refuses to go down to his own house. Yahweh does add the something more whilst condemning the method of achieving it.

4.3.3 "THIS THING"

The motif of 'house' among other things demonstrated a tendency not to name things, not to be explicit but to distance; this same tendency is present in the use of 'thing' in a number of instances.

TABLE 4.10: OCCURRENCES OF 'THING' dbr

11:11b	Uriah:	I will not do <u>this thing</u> , i.e. go down to my house.
25a	David:	Do not let <u>this thing</u> (RSV matter), i.e. Uriah's contrived death.
27b	Narrator:	<u>the thing</u> that David had done, i.e. taking Uriah's wife (+ Uriah's murder)?
12:6b	David	because he did <u>this thing</u> , i.e. the rich man's misuse of status.
9a	Yahweh	Why have you despised <u>the thing</u> (RSV 'word') of Yahweh?
12	Yahweh	You did () secretly but I will do <u>this thing</u> etc., i.e. have another one lie with your wives.
14	Narrator	because by <u>this thing</u> you have utterly scorned, etc., i.e. adultery (and murder?)
21	Elders	What is <u>this thing</u> that you have done? i.e. failure to observe mourning rites.

All three uses of thing, dbr, are definite: six have the demonstrative of proximity, 'this', two the definite article plus either a defining relative clause or a post-head qualifier. Vague as the word may be, it is being used to refer to something already known. It is Uriah who first introduced the expression in response to David's invitation to go down to his house, which I have suggested, earlier, is a covert suggestion to enjoy his wife.

Uriah blurts out what David seems to have in mind, so that Uriah's further reference to it as 'this thing' is not an evasion. It is David who establishes the expression as evasion and distancing, 11:25, and the narrator's reiteration of 'thing', 11:27, mocks David's baseness. Here there is more than a reiteration of David's use of the word: there is a parallelism in the grammatical structure..

<u>'l</u>	<u>yr^c</u>	<u>b^cynyk</u>	<u>'t</u>	<u>hdbr</u>	<u>hzh</u>
do not	let	be evil	in your eyes		this thing

<u>wyr^c</u>	<u>hdbr + relative cl</u>	<u>b^cyny yhwh</u>
and was evil	the thing	in the eyes of Yahweh

David's jussive may have been effective with Joab, but the narrator's declarative use of the verb demonstrates that Yahweh is not to be bought off.

David unwittingly mocks himself when he indicts the rich man in Nathan's parable and judges him worthy of death for doing 'this thing'. Like the narrator Yahweh himself takes up David's linguistic usage, and like Uriah, spells out bluntly what this thing is: 12:11, 'he shall lie with your wives.' Nathan then summarizes, before departing, the charge against David as 'this thing'. It is ironic that David's evasiveness even infects others: is Nathan, as also the narrator at 11:27, referring to the adultery or the murder or both? The elders' use of the

expression ostensibly has nothing to do with the case we have made so far. They are referring to David's breach of the mourning rites. However, once David's usage has been noted, it is hard to prevent its overshadowing the elders' use of it. They are baffled by David's unaccountable behaviour and his flouting of social mores. This is precisely what 'this thing' has entailed right from Uriah's use of it. Finally, the normally unproblematic 'word of Yahweh', 12:9, itself cannot escape the poisonous ambience David has created: Yahweh too has a thing, dramatically opposed to David's thing: David's thing stands under the judgement of Yahweh's thing, because it is Yahweh's thing that he has violated.

4.3.4 THE BATHSHEBA VIGNETTES

A looser pattern is discernible in the three episodes in which Bathsheba appears. See accompanying diagram 4.2. There are short scenes occurring at beginning, middle and end of the Bathsheba narrative and they seem to stand out like vignettes. The diagram reveals how 'SEND' encloses the scenes, except no. 3 at the beginning, stressing the importance of the conveyance of messages in the story which always fatefully affect people. David initiates nos 1/2 with acts of sending, so that 'comforted' in no. 3 contrasts and reveals David for the first time acting humanely. It is 'comforted', which is the prelude to the sexual act, whereas in no. 2 we have an act of illicit seizure, and in no. 2, where there is no mention of sex, the act of making Bathsheba David's wife is nonetheless led up to by verbs implying

DIAGRAM 4:1 THE BATHSHEBA VIGNETTES

1.	11:1 David sent →	11:4 took	Bathsheba came			David lay with	Bathsheba returned	11:5 conceived			sent →
2.	11:27 David sent →	brought	Bathsheba became his wife					bore			12:1 Yahweh sent →
3.	12:18 [the child died]			12:24 David comforted	went in	lay with		Bathsheba bore	he called his name	Yahweh loved him	12:25 sent →

the use of power. The humanity of no. 3 is continued in the lexis by 'called his name', 'loved him', i.e. the second child of the union acquires identity; no. 2 simply speaks of 'a son' and no more. Here 'bore' relates back to 'conceive' and the preceeding verbs have characterised the nature of the child's conception. The three scenes end with acts of sending, none of them initiated by David, and each act of sending opens up a new episode, at least 1/2 do explicitly. 1: David is forced to devise a plan, 2: Yahweh is compelled to intervene. In 3 the sense of compulsion is absent from Yahweh's sending, which is a gratuitous act described by 'loved'. Does it lead to a new episode as 1/2? The victory over the Ammonites, 12:26ff, suggests divine blessing, but more apposite here is the hint we spoke of in reference to the 'house' motif: this sending precludes the ultimate choice of Solomon as David's heir.

4.3.5 "DEAD" AND "ALIVE": THE MOTIF OF THE FIRST CHILD

The child of the illicit relation, 11:27, comes into focus, 12:14-23 where child yld occurs twelve times. Unlike the second child, which acquires identity (a name), the first becomes a symbol of the test of strength between Yahweh and David. This is achieved lexically. (Note how the child's mother is described as Uriah's wife, although now David's wife, 12:15).

TABLE 4.11: OCCURRENCES OF "DEAD" AND "ALIVE"

<u>alive</u>	<u>hy</u>	3	<u>live</u>	v <u>hyh</u>	1
<u>dead</u>	<u>mt</u>	7	<u>die</u>	<u>mwt</u>	2

The intensive use of the modifier 'dead' is noteworthy. The passage concerning the fate of the child is structured thus:

- 12:4 Nathan's pronouncement of the child's impending death.
- 15 Yahweh strikes the child.
- 16-17 David's ritual 'strategy' to save the child.
- 18a Death of child.
- 18b-23 David's inexplicable behaviour, which he subsequently explains to the elders.

It is in vv18-23 that the occurrences of the predicate modifiers 'dead'/'alive' come.

18-19	David learns of the child's death:	dead x 5/alive x 1
20-23	David is censured by the elders:	dead x 2/alive x 2

All these words come in clause relational:attributive. Unlike in English the noun can come before or after the adjective:

Noun Ø Adjective or Adjective Ø Noun (commoner)¹

There is usually no copula. We have in this passage a definite pattern:

The child is dead mt hyld Adjective Noun

The child was alive hyld hy Noun Adjective

v14b, which is a kind of heading for the subsequent episode, thematises 'the child that is born to you' and uses an emphatic form of the verb (absolute infinitive + imperfect) 'Shall indeed die', SV. It is against this sentence that David conducts his ritual offensive (more than half David = Actor occur in this passage, expressing the intensity of David's activity whilst fasting). The child becomes ostensibly an issue of life and death, but more fundamentally a test of Yahweh's resoluteness; just as David had tested Uriah's resoluteness (or obstinacy) about the issue of going down to his house, so now David engages in a similar undertaking which, however, does not admit of underhand dealing; no specious concern about the welfare of others at the front or about that of Uriah after a tiring journey, no bribes, no feasting, just the starkness and honesty of the fast. mt (dead) in the probably commoner (elsewhere) complement-subject order is unmarked theme and functions as topic. The inverted form hy ('alive') comes in all three references to the past when the child

('alive') comes in all three references to the past when the child was living and there was still hope. It was for this that David fought; perhaps the order has a slight pathos, but it is now a state irrevocably in the past. A chiasmic pattern involving mt/hy is found, 12:21.

whilst the child	(was)	alive
but when dead	(was)	the child

The verse functions to focus the whole episode: the elders fail to see that David's fasting whilst the child was alive was not simply an act of self-humbling before the divine will, but a struggle between sovereign wills.

The 'dead' motif recalls the Uriah episode, for there it is twice recorded that Uriah the Hittite was mt, 11:21, 24. The episode of the child begins with a reference to Uriah, for the child is identified as the one which 'Uriah's wife' bore to David. The child's fate as innocent victim is paralleled by Uriah's fate, also as innocent victim, the latter murdered indirectly by David, the former, though smitten by the deity, indirectly perishes because of David.

4.3.6 THE EMBEDDED STORY: NATHAN'S PARABLE

In Nathan's famous parable, 12:1-6, there is an obvious linguistic parallelism in the descriptions of the two men. Although it would

be wrong to allegorise, there are many facts which make one draw parallels with David, Bathsheba and Uriah.

4.3.6.1 TABLE 4.12: PARALLELS IN 12:1-4

There were two men in a city

a	<u>one was rich</u>	relational clauses	<u>one was poor</u>
b	<u>the rich man had</u>	relational clauses	<u>the poor man had not</u>
c	<u>very many sheep & cattle</u>		<u>anything but one,</u> <u>little, ewe lamb</u>
d			<u>which he bought</u>
e		5 coordinated clauses	<u>and he brought it up...</u> <u>ate, drank and lay in</u> <u>his bosom</u>
f			<u>and it was like a</u> <u>a daughter to him.</u>
g	<u>and there came ...</u> <u>who had come to him</u>	4 coordinated clauses	

- a cohesion by antonymy and identical clause structure.
- b Similar clause types but rich man's possession of goods described using a verb with positive polarity, poor man's possession of goods, uses a negative particle followed by 'except', literally 'to the poor man was not anything but',

which produces focus on his solitary possession.

- c Rich man's possessions described with two nouns: collective plus two modifiers: intensifier + quantitative. Poor man, in contrast, has possessions described with noun: singular emphasised by the numeral used with a descriptive modifier, 'little' which may be evaluative as well, i.e. insignificant.

d, e have no parallels in the description of the rich man; d

- f indicates how the poor man came in possession of the lamb. qnh may mean either 'buy' or 'acquire'. The former stresses the costliness of the lamb, the latter the impoverished state prior to the acquisition of this one belonging. Presumably the rich man acquired effortlessly. In e, are five clauses describing the solicitude of the poor man for his possession and its place in the family as pet. Again, nothing is said of the rich man's attitude to his belongings: we have a factual statement over against the details which portray the humanity of the poor man's family. The creature shares the very essence of life with them: 'eat', 'drink', 'lie'. The marked themes of the Hebrew underline this with pathos: of his morsel it would eat, from his cup it would drink, and in his bosom it would lie. f, the attributive clause, expresses the poor man's evaluation of the beast. From now to the end of the story we hear no more about the poor man, nothing of his reaction, protest or grief. The rich man shows himself possessive of his belongings, but in a different way to his

neighbour. 'Sheep and cattle' are repeated: the reluctance is to take from the flocks and herds. Three times the guest is described (in v4) as

traveller - wayfarer who had come - the man who had
come

so focusing on the obligation of hospitality.

4.3.6.2 Let us draw the parallels with David: David too is rich and has much. This is brought out in Yahweh's speech, 12:8; and moreover, he could have more, if he wished. Like the rich man, David fails to see the value of another's possession. The lamb was like a daughter; Bathsheba was wife to Uriah. David also offers insincere hospitality to a traveller, and with finest irony, the poor man's tender care in letting the ewe eat and drink with the family and lie in his bosom mirrors David's detaining Uriah to eat and drink, but, of course, Bathsheba has lain in David's arms.

The parallels continue beyond the story in David's response. He mistakes the story within a story for reality, and for the first time in the primary story acts as the righteous king who gives justice, but as one who has disqualified himself.

'He shall die' is a sentence pronounced against himself and is echoed by Nathan at v13b.

1. because he did this thing 2. because you have despised me

2. because he had no pity 1. and taken the wife of Uriah

1. gives the indictable offence, 2. the inner condition of the
offender.

Note how David introduces his verdict on this story with an oath, 12:5a. Uriah too used an oath, 11:11. On both occasions outrage is expressed against a breach of a norm. In Uriah's case the outrage is against the story in which David would like him to play a rôle; in David's case it is outrage against a story in which David does unwittingly play a rôle. There is a complex chain of evaluation beginning 11:25 and continuing through to 12:13.

11:25 'Do not let this matter trouble you'; David's evaluation

27 'The thing that David had done displeased Yahweh'.
Yahweh's evaluation according to the Narrator.

12:5 'As Yahweh lives the man ... deserves to die.' David's evaluation.

7 'You are the man'; Yahweh's acceptance of David's evaluation.

13a 'I have sinned against Yahweh; David's new evaluation.

13b 'You shall not die; Yahweh cancels David's unwitting self-evaluation.

Thus, David evaluates his own 'story', 11:25, which the narrator counter-evaluates, informing us of Yahweh's evaluation. David then evaluates Yahweh's story, and Yahweh accepts David's evaluation of this story, and at the end David accepts Yahweh's evaluation of his action.

4.3.7 GENERAL COMMENTS ON LEXIS

The analysis has shown the text to be strongly cohesive in various ways, and I want to round off this aspect by an overview of the lexis in general. The story evinces three areas of lexis. (Figures refer to number of occurrences).

A. Lexis of warfare - chiefly, 11:1, 14-25, 12:26ff

battle, attack, fighting (lhm) 5; ravage, besiege 2; (en)camp 2; strike down, kill (nkh) 2; die, slay (mwt) 3; men of valour; fight 5; fall; shoot 2; gain an advantage; archers; sword; overthrow; take lkd 5; spoil.

The lexical group is associated with Joab, and virtually only indirectly with David, but subsequently 12:29ff immediately, albeit through Joab's instigation. (The RSV introduces an additional instance of lexical cohesion [by repetition] in addition to the one discussed shortly). RSV translates Hebrew lqh 'get possession of', 11:4, 12:4, 9, 10, and Hebrew lkd 'capture in battle', 12:26ff, both with 'take'. Thus only at the end does

David do the kind of 'taking' legitimately associated with kingship.

B. Lexis of sexual and personal relations - chiefly 11:3-5,
12:9-11, 24

beautiful, take 3; lay 4; conceived, pregnant, (wash feet?),
son 2; child 12; wife 10; husband 2; comfort, love, call name,
bear 3.

The group is descriptive especially of Bathsheba and of David's relationship to her.

Groups A/B are nicely interwoven in 12:8-17, part of Yahweh's accusation. For the first time the explicit language of violence is predicated of David (Actor: smite/slay), such that 'take', lqh, 11:4, and repeated 12:9-10, descriptive of David's relationship with Bathsheba, is seen in its true meaning. As pointed out above, RSV accentuates this with the military use of 'take', 12:26ff. Below are the essential parts of the passage translated more literally than RSV:

I gave you ... the wives of your master's house into
your bosom
Uriah the you smote with the sword
Hittite
and his wife you took to yourself as wife
and him you slew with the sword
and now the sword shall never depart
because you took the wife of Uriah the Hittite
 to be to yourself as wife
 I shall take your wives
and I shall give to your
 neighbour
and he shall lie with your wives

Note the marked direct object themes: Uriah the Hittite, him, his wife. These reactivated topics are well-known and are given information. The rheme coincides with new information (for David): you smote, you took, you slew, in as far as it is blunt and undoes David's instinctive distancing. Observe also how 'in your bosom' echoes the lamb in the poor man's bosom, 12:3. David's bosom was already blessed with superabundance.

C. Lexis of ritual 11:2-5, 12:16-23

bathe, purify, uncleanness, lamented, mourning; besought God, fasted 4; worshipped, have of Yahweh, wept 2.

This is associated with Bathsheba and David.

The association of B and C with Bathsheba is not surprising, but it is revealing how in the story David is linked chiefly with the language of sexual/personal relations and ritual: this the rôle his lust forces him to play; had he gone to war at the time kings go forth, 11:1, similar language would have been predicated of David and Joab. Note how the RSV translates at 11:1.

<u>Hebrew</u>	and David remaining at Jerusalem - <u>wdwd ywšb by'</u>
<u>RSV</u>	BUT David remained at Jerusalem

The waw here is given an adversative sense², the second adjunct of time having signalled the expectation that David as a king would go to war. That is probably the right interpretation. 'and' would be ambiguous or neutral.

4.4 TIME AND TEMPO

4.4.1 We noted in the analysis of 1 Samuel 1-4 (chapter 3.2.3) how wyhy = 'and it was' had become weakened to a discourse marker and focaliser. Its use with time adjuncts is common, and in our present passage it functions to subdivide the story into key stages.

- 11:1 Introduction to new episode: setting
- 11:2 Introduction to the main action and its immediate consequences: **Bathsheba's** pregnancy and David's attempt to evade paternity publicly.
- 11:14 Marks the twist in the plot consequent on the failure of David's plan.
- 11:16 Focuses on Joab's compliance with David's order to eliminate Uriah. There is no wyhy again until 12:18. Even Yahweh's intervention, 12:1, is not signalled thus. The murder of Uriah, David's marriage to Bathsheba and Yahweh's confrontation are structurally all one. Divine accusation follows human sin as day follows night.
- 12:18 The final occurrence of wyhy focuses on the death of the child which ushers in the final episode of the narrative: David's restoration.

Within this structure the Hebrew style of parataxis is used to good effect.³ 11:2-6 illustrates the 'breathless' tempo of the narrative. Reducing the text to its essentials:

and it was (RSV 'it happened') and David arose ... and walked about (RSV 'was walking') ... and saw a woman bathing and the woman was very beautiful and David sent and inquired .. and

one said " " and David sent .. and took her and she came .. and he lay with her and she was purifying herself .. and she returned .. and the woman conceived and she sent and told David " "

The tempo is interrupted only to give essential information: thus the event-line is broken by the relational clause and the participle clause. Here the reader is allowed to dwell briefly on Bathsheba's loveliness and her post-menstrual condition; otherwise the reader is caught up in the impatience of David's lust, and so the narrative continues, 11:6ff, as David's actions precipitate him headlong. It is probable that the resumption of the subject nominal (in the above excerpt usually 'David') after the marking of the subject only morphologically is a Biblical Hebrew means of subdivision into sentences and larger units. The later accentuation reflects this here, and RSV does to a certain extent, e.g. And David sent; so David sent.

4.4.2 This kind of event-line easily dulls the sense of time. There is no indication after 11:2 of the objective passage of time. Did Bathsheba conceive after one night of love-making or after many? The narrative is indifferent to this: what matters is that David's seeing Bathsheba bathing results eventually in Bathsheba's pregnancy and all that ensues. However, in 11:6-13 time becomes foregrounded by dint of the number of time references here in comparison with the rest of the story: six time adjuncts in three verses.

Day of Arrival 7-9 and Uriah came ... and Uriah SLEPT at the door of the king's house.

Day 2 10-12, Remain here TODAY, and TOMORROW I will let you depart. So Uriah remained in Jerusalem THAT DAY.

Day 3 (proposed THE NEXT DAY David invited him ... and he
day of departure) made him drunk and IN THE EVENING he went
13 out to lie on his couch.

Day 4 (actual day IN THE MORNING David wrote a letter
of departure) 14

The time adjuncts create tension marking the inexorable passage of days and nights which speak of David's failure to get Uriah into bed with Bathsheba. David is seen to be pitting himself against time, a correlative of Uriah's obstinacy. He is so desperate that he even has to 'borrow' time by extending Uriah's leave and so breaking his promise, 11:12. Although time adjuncts are the least marked of themes, 'tomorrow', v12, and 'the next day', v13, are important here, giving the perspective for the rest of the utterance.

tomorrow → departure

the next day → David's invitation

Unlike RSV, I have connected 'the next day' with the following clause, since otherwise there is no explanation why Uriah stays the next day as well. Additionally, its forward connection creates the two themes with the respective rhemes in contradiction.

4.5 CONCLUSION

4.5.1 This particular linguistic analysis has focused especially on the parallel structures in the text which thus illustrate Jakobson's poetic function: the projection of the paradigmatic into the syntagmatic⁴ (IIa in Sebeok 1960, p. 358). It has demonstrated how this function, definitive for verse, is operative in prose as well. However, since prose usually makes it difficult by virtue of length for the reader to have a panoptic perception of the linear text, the poetic function is weaker. In a short episode like II Samuel 11-12, the text can be grasped panoptically, and the linguistic description has served to reveal the considerable extent of structural parallelism at lexico-grammatical level. Some of the parallelism could be discerned without the linguistics, but the linguistic analysis earths the motifs in the language.

4.5.2 The narrative is concerned with the use and abuse of power. It is punctuated and motivated by acts of sending: just as David

had sent Joab to wage war and then had sent emissaries to bring Bathsheba and subsequently Uriah, so Yahweh twice sends Nathan with equally powerful consequences. The story could have ended 11:27a, but David's misuse of power calls forth another use of power: David's evaluation of what he has done is countermanded by Yahweh's evaluation. In chapter 11 the imperative mood is associated with David nine times; in chapter 12 there is only one instance, 12:6, and David unwittingly directs this toward himself. His command hitherto has undone others, now it undoes David himself. David and Yahweh are a dialectic of power in the narrative. Recall some statistics.

TABLE 4.13: DAVID AND YAHWEH: ACTORS AND OBJECTS

<u>David</u>	Verbs 82	Actor 64	Self as Dir Obj 3	Others as Dir Obj 18
<u>Yahweh</u>	Verbs 21	Actor 14	Self as Dir Obj 2	Other as Dir Obj 8

Remember that Yahweh appears indirectly as character in the story for only about one eighth of the text.

David's use of power is associated with messages through which he procures Bathsheba, brings Uriah to Jerusalem, arranges Uriah's death and commands Joab to have an easy conscience. This use of the word is Yahweh's too: his word indicts David out of his own mouth, brings David to repentance, effects the death of the child, makes certain future woes, blesses the second child. However,

there is a directness in Yahweh's way of working: David is devious. Yet there are several similarities in David and Yahweh's way of using power:

1. David coerced others to respond as he willed: does Yahweh coerce David into repentance (has he been educated by the story or cowed by the threats)?
2. David is violent and oppressive in word and action; Yahweh's speech, however righteous in indignation, is a valient tirade threatening violent acts, some death-dealing, just like David's.
3. David ultimately treats Bathsheba, Uriah and Joab as things to be used, yet Yahweh also treats Bathsheba and the child as things too. 'The child born to you (David) will indeed die': there is consideration here neither of child nor mother: only David matters. Whatever the cost, he must be punished. The cost of David's lust was Uriah's life; the cost of Yahweh's justice is a child's life and a mother's sorrow.
4. Interestingly, both David and Yahweh use cunning: David's false hospitality and concern, and Nathan's story.
5. David, to pursue his ends, corrupts Bathsheba and Joab. Does Yahweh corrupt by this righteous use of violence: corrupt the messenger, the parties to it, and the reader? The sword

which Yahweh condemns is an instrument of his punishing, and the taking which Yahweh abhors is his means of chastisement. The lexis of violence which Yahweh uses to describe David's deeds has its counterpart with Yahweh: David slays, Yahweh strikes.

The critique of David's use of power is scathing, but is not a critique of Yahweh's use of power needed too? There is a dilemma here in how David's institutionalised violence is matched by divine violence. In the narrator's critique Bathsheba remains subsidiary: she is related to David in two of the three scenes as the one taken/brought and lain with. Her rôle is to conceive and to bear. The first son she bears is 'for him' (David), 11:27; it is taken from her violently by divine fiat, and the second son is entirely the focus of interest at the end. Even here Bathsheba remains in the background. She does not name the child (a common practice for mothers in the Old Testament where utterances regarding the circumstances of birth may be recorded), and the name David bestows reflects the reconciliation between him and Yahweh ('Solomon' can conjure both šalom 'peace' and šillem 'recompense'). Bathsheba is referred to as related to someone else, owned by someone, never Bathsheba in her own right. She is the possessed thing. It is the same with the other women in the story: Saul's wives are given by Yahweh to David, 12:8, and David's wives in turn Yahweh will give to Absalom, 12:11. This attitude to the female, almost unavoidable at the time, is dangerous now in a so-called sacred text. The linguistic

expression of it is with us still.

We have demonstrated how a particular use of power has been expressed and evaluated linguistically, and how the critique of it shares something linguistically with the very language used to describe the abuse of power: the ideology (religion) which evaluates is itself flawed. This is as disturbing as the divine choice of Solomon, or indeed more so, as Solomon is innocent of the circumstances.

CHAPTER 4

FOOTNOTES

1. For research on word-order in the attributive clause and elsewhere, see footnote 15, p. 48.
2. The conjunction 'waw' has many functions as such English renderings as 'and', 'but', 'then', 'so' indicate. In literal translation 'and' will be used if necessary simply to signal the presence of this word.
3. See Longacre's comment on the waw-consecutive chaining effect (Ib Longacre 1984).
4. 'The poetic function projects the principle of equivalence from the axis of selection into the axis of combination', i.e. the poetic function juxtaposes words, phrases, clauses etc., overcoming the forward movement of linearity and forcing the reader to see a connection between them.

SECTION 2

THE STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF CONVERSATION

CHAPTERS 5-6

CHAPTER 5

A STRUCTURAL APPROACH TO CONVERSATION

GENESIS 27:1-28:5

PREFACE

The two texts chosen from Genesis afford ample opportunity to demonstrate how discourse analysis can handle dialogue. In Genesis 27:1-28:5 I shall employ a purely structural approach used to varying degrees throughout the thesis wherever conversation (or monologue, which implies an addressee) occurs. It should show how it is a valuable tool over and above the basic linguistic analysis for enabling us to grasp the dynamics of interaction. In these analyses the linguistic description will be balder, especially in the first one, to highlight the approach to dialogue.

5.1 INTRODUCTION

5.1.1 The structural approach to conversational analysis¹ postulates a hierarchy of levels at discourse level after the manner of the rank structure at grammatical level. There is little value in attempting to equate somehow the units of the two levels.

(Genre)
Transaction
Exchange
Move
Act

The exchange is the basic unit of conversation (others may call it 'adjacency-pair') and a sequence of exchanges constitutes a transaction in which a topic will be initiated, developed and normally rounded off. The normal exchange will be formed by one speaker's utterance and the other speaker's responding utterance. These utterances are constituted as moves, and the association of this term with chess is useful, since it suggests the idea of conversation as a game played according to rules which presuppose cooperation. However, as in chess, a partner's response to a move is varied. Burton (Ia 1980b) identifies the following conversational moves:

Opening (may be prefaced by a Framing move, e.g. a vocative and/or a Focusing move in which the speaker appeals for a turn, followed e.g. I have a request. Both serve to by mark boundaries).

Supporting or Challenging

Bound-opening moves are subordinate to the primary initiating or Opening move. The notion of move is purely formal: it is the Act which introduces the semantic element. The key ones are

<u>Informative</u> (Inf): making a statement	}	
	}	may be constit-
<u>Elicitation</u> (El) : asking a question	}	utive of any of
	}	the fundamental
<u>Directive</u> (Dir) : effecting a command	}	moves.

They are akin to speech-acts and are not unfailingly realised by the same grammatical forms.

Basic to this account is the premise that conversation has a controlling retrospective dimension, i.e. what a speaker has said limits the options available to the addressee. However, there is also a prospective dimension, for the addressee will frame their response with an eye to how they want the conversation to develop. The retrospective aspect will show itself in the not infrequent

pairing of certain acts.

Informative	-	Acknowledgment (Ack)
Elicitation	-	Reply (Rep)
Directive	-	React (Re)

The second member of each pair would constitute a Supporting move. A Challenging move refuses this pairing dynamic in an obvious way; other attempts to guide the conversation may be less patent.

5.1.2 In summary we can say that whilst the linguistic description demonstrates how a text has grammatical and lexical COHESION, the structural description reveals its discourse COHERENCE. A broad analysis of Jeremiah 1:4-12 illustrates some of the above:

v5	Before I formed you ... I appointed you a prophet to the nations	<u>Opening Move</u> Inf
v6	Ah, Lord God! Behold I do not know how to speak ...	<u>Challenging Move</u> Inf
vv7- 10	Do not say 'I am only a youth' ...	<u>Challenging Move</u> Dir
v11	Jeremiah, what do you see? I see a rod of almond	(Bound?-) <u>Opening</u> <u>Move</u> El <u>Supporting Move</u> Rep

v12 You have seen well

Bound-Opening Move
Inf

[Note that vv11-12 could be analysed according to Sinclair/Coulthard's 'Opening Move - Supporting Move - Follow-up Move' complex derived from the analysis of classroom questioning technique. This would underline the didactic nature of vv11-12 with v12 a 'You have seen well' as an 'evaluate' act].

Jeremiah's objection is quashed by Yahweh's counter-challenge (one verse to four verses!), and Jeremiah has opportunity neither to make an Acknowledge, Accept (Supporting move) or a Challenging move (he exercises this human right plentifully later on), but when he is allowed to speak, it is as a pupil in a didactic exchange.

In the ensuing analysis I have made use of Burton's adaptation of Sinclair/Coulthard as in her 'Dialogue and Discourse' (Ia Burton, 1980b). The material is part of the Jacob saga and narrates the episode of the 'stealing' of the firstborn's blessing resulting in a serious rift between the two brothers. Throughout the analysis capitals are used for the various moves and acts to avoid confusion with other possible usages. Acts not already introduced but found in the analysis are:

<u>Accept</u>	Response to a summons (see below).
<u>Comment</u>	Comment on a previous utterance (own).
<u>Evaluate</u>	Evaluation of a previous utterance (own or other).

<u>Marker</u>	Indicates onset of topic, e.g. 'and now', <u>w^ctth</u> .
<u>Metastatement</u>	Predicts nature of ensuing turn and speaker's wish for a hearing, e.g. 'Obey my voice'.
<u>Starter</u>	Provides context for ensuing utterance.
<u>Summons</u>	First part of a Framing move, usually a vocative.

5.2 THE STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF CONVERSATION IN GENESIS 27:1-28:5

5.2.1 KEY

1a MOVES

<u>B-op</u>	Bound-opening
<u>Ch</u>	Challenging
<u>Fr</u>	Framing
<u>Op</u>	Opening
<u>Re-op</u>	Re-opening
<u>Su</u>	Supporting

1b ACTS

<u>Acc</u>	Accept
<u>Com</u>	Comment
<u>Dir</u>	Directive
<u>El</u>	Elicitation
<u>Ev</u>	Evaluate
<u>Foc</u>	Focusing
<u>Inf</u>	Informative
<u>Mar</u>	Marker
<u>Meta</u>	Metastatement
<u>Re</u>	React
<u>Rep</u>	Reply
<u>St</u>	Starter
<u>Sum</u>	Summons
<u>W</u>	Wish

2. SPEAKERS (Sp)

Es: Esau; Is: Isaac; Ja: Jacob; Reb: Rebekah

3. LINE BOUNDARIES

_____	Transactions	↑ DISCONTINUITY
_____	Challenging moves	
-----	Framing, Focusing,	
	Bound- and Re-opening Moves	↓ CONTINUITY

NB 'Discontinuity' is here not used absolutely: the standard of continuity is the strong cohesion of such a pair as an Opening-supporting exchange.

5.2.2 TRANSACTION 1: ISAAC-JACOB 27:1-4(5)

<u>MOVE</u>	<u>ACT</u>	<u>Sp</u>	
Fr	Sum	Is	My son;
Su	Acc	Es	Here I am.
-----	-----	-----	
Op	Mar	Is	Behold,
	St		I am old; I do not know the day of my death.
	Mar		Now then, (<u>w^ctth</u>)
	Dir		take your weapons, your quiver and your bow,
			and go out to the field, and hunt game for me,
			and prepare for me savoury food, such as I
			love and bring it to me that I may eat;
	Com		that I may bless you before I die.
Su	Re	Es	(non-verbal: so when Esau went...)

5.2.3 TRANSACTION 2: REBEKAH-JACOB 27:6-13(14)

<u>MOVE</u>	<u>ACT</u>	<u>Sp</u>	
Op	Inf	Reb	I heard your father speak to your brother Esau, 'Bring me game, and prepare for me savoury food, that I may eat it, and bless you before Yahweh before I die.'

Foc	Mar	Reb	Now therefore, (<u>w^ctth</u>)
	Sum		my son,
	Meta		obey my word as I command you.

B-op	Dir	Reb	Go to the flock, and fetch me two good kids, that I may prepare from them savoury food, such as he loves; and you shall bring it to your father to eat,
	Com		so that he may bless you before he dies.

Ch	Mar	Jac	Behold
	St		my brother Esau is a hairy man, and I am a smooth man.
	Inf		Perhaps my father will feel me, and I shall seem to be mocking him, and bring a curse upon myself and not a blessing.

Ch	W	Reb	Upon me be your curse, my son;
Re-op	Meta	Reb	Only obey my word,
	Dir		and go, fetch them to me.
Su	Re	Jac	(non-verbal: so he went...)

5.2.4 TRANSACTION 3: ISAAC-JACOB 27:18-29

MOVE	ACT	Sp	
Fr	Sum	Jac	My Father;
Su	Acc	Is	Here I am;
Ch	El	Is	Who are you, my son?
Su	Rep	Jac	I am Esau your first-born.
- - - - -			
B-op	St	Jac	I have done as you told me;
	Dir		now sit up (<u>qwmn'</u>) and eat of my game,
	Com		that you may bless me.
Ch	El	Is	How is it that you have found it so quickly, my son?
Su	Rep	Jac	Because Yahweh your God granted me success.
Ch	Dir	Is	Come near, that I may feel you, my son,
	Com		to know whether you are really my son Esau or not.
	Re	Jac	(non-verbal: so Jacob went near...)
- - - - -			
B-op	St	Is	The voice is Jacob's voice, but the hands are the hands of Esau.
	El		Are you really my son Esau?
Su	Rep	Jac	I am.
- - - - -			
Re-op	Dir	Is	Bring it to me, that I may eat of my son's game and bless you.
Su	Re	Jac	(non-verbal: so he brought it ...)
- - - - -			
B-op	Dir	Is	Come near and kiss me, my son.
Su	Re	Jac	(non-verbal: so he came near...)
- - - - -			
B-Op	Mar	Is	See,

St the smell of my son is as the smell of a field
 which Yahweh has blessed!

W May God give you ...

5.2.5 TRANSACTION 4: ISAAC ESAU 27:31-40

<u>MOVE</u>	<u>ACT</u>	<u>Sp</u>	
Op	Dir	Es	Let my father arise, and eat of his son's game
	Com		that you may bless me.
Ch	El	Is	Who are you?
Su	Rep	Es	I am your son, your first-born, Esau.
B-op	El	Is	Who was it then that hunted game and brought
			it to me, and I ate it all before you came,
			and I have blessed him?
	Ev		Yes, and he shall be blessed.
Ch	Dir	Es	Bless me, even me also, my father!
Ch	Inf	Is	Your brother came with guile, and he has taken
			away your blessing.
B-up	St	Es	Is he not rightly named Jacob?
	Inf		For he has supplanted me these two times. He
			took away my birthright; and behold, now he
			has taken away my blessing.
Re-op	El	Es	Have you not reserved a blessing for me?
Ch	Mar	Is	Behold,
	St		I have made him your lord, and all his
			brothers I have given to him for servants and
			with grain and wine I have sustained him.

	El		What then can I do for you, my son?
Ch	St	Es	Have you but one blessing, my father?
	Dir		Bless me, even me also, O my father.
- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	
B-op	Mar	Is	Behold,
	Inf		away from the fatness of the earth...

5.2.6 TRANSACTION 5: ESAU 27:41

MOVE	ACT	Sp	
Op	St	Es	The days of mourning for my father are approaching;
	Inf		then I will kill my brother Jacob.

5.2.7 TRANSACTION 6: REBEKAH JACOB 27:42-45

MOVE	ACT	Sp	
Op	Mar	Rel	Behold,
	Inf		your brother Esau comforts himself by planning to kill you.
- - - -	- - - -	- - - -	
B-op	Mar	Rel	Now therefore (<u>w^cttth</u>), my son,
	Meta		obey my voice;
	Dir		arise, flee to Laban my brother in Haran, and stay with him a while, until your brother's fury turns away; until your brother's anger turns away, and he forgets what you have done

to him;

Com then I will send, and fetch you from there.

Ev Why should I be bereft of you both in one day?

5.2.8 TRANSACTION 7: REBEKAH-ISAAC 27:46

ISAAC JACOB 28:1 4(5)

MOVE ACT Sp

Op Inf Reb I am weary of my life because of the Hittite women.

Com If Jacob marries one of the Hittite women such as these, one of the women of the land, what good will my life be to me?

-- -- -- -- --
B-op Dir Is You shall not marry one of the Canaanite women. Arise, go to Paddan-aram to the house of Bethuel your mother's father; and take as wife from there one of the daughters of Laban your mother's brother.

-- -- -- -- --
B-op W Is God Almighty bless you ...

Su Re Jac (non-verbal: and he went...)

5.2.9 NOTES

1. By way of a general comment it should be said that it is not always easy to determine the 'act' status of parts of a move; however, the overall structure of an exchange is usually

clear.

2. For the inclusion of Esau's private thoughts (Transaction 5) see 5.3.5.
3. In Transaction 6 (5.2.7) the exchange appears ill-formed because a Directive anticipates a React, but no response is recorded for Jacob. The commentary will shortly explain why.

5.3 COMMENTS

5.3.1 TRANSACTION 1: Isaac-Esau 27:1-4 (5)

The initiation of the process which is to lead to blessing is marked by simplicity of exchange Directive → React. This simplicity is accounted for by the legitimacy of the proposed action: a father near to death fulfilling his paternal duty of blessing the firstborn. The reader is prepared for complication of the simplicity: the oracle of 25:23 foretelling the reversal of the natural order: 'the elder shall serve the younger' forms the key-signature of the saga. And already the two brothers have been typified in the pottage story, 25:24-25: Esau boorish and basic, Jacob sharp and urbane. And after this neat transaction the complication sets in.

5.3.2 TRANSACTION 2: Rebekah-Jacob, 27:6-13(14)

Here we have a counter-manoeuve to thwart the father's initiated design. Jacob has a task less complex, but morally it is disturbing. However, Jacob's challenge does not express the moral dimension but evinces fear of detection and an ensuing curse. Jacob may be one who has an eye for the main chance, but it is a cautious, calculating eye. Rebekah seems to fear weakness of will in Jacob, and twice she uses the Metastatement, 'Obey my voice'.

Already in these two brief transactions the four key characters appear in well-defined focus.

Isaac makes the preparation of the savoury food 'as he loves' a part of the ritual of the blessing. Rebekah and the narrator twice echo the expression, v9, 'such as he loves'; v14, 'such as his father loved'. Esau thus takes after his father in his privileging of appetite.

Esau is associated with the lexis of hunting (weapons, quiver, bow, field, hunt, game) and obeys promptly.

Jacob has only to go to the pasture. His deferred compliance, unlike Esau's, reveals a character who reflects and examines the consequences of proposed causes of action; but the moral dimension of reflection is absent: it is the calculation of

self-interest.

Rebekah is seen to act as one promoted by the divine oracle of 25:23, but that oracle does not specify how the reversal is to come about. Rebekah sensing the urgency of the hour acts resourcefully; are we to understand 'immorally' as well? Within the immediate context only Isaac and Esau evaluate the action: v35, 'your brother came with guile and he has taken away your blessing'; v36, 'he has supplanted me these two times'. Rebekah's counterchallenge, 'Upon me be the curse', reveals her determination.

5.3.3 TRANSACTION 3: Isaac-Jacob, 27:18-29

This is a masterly account of the success of the deception; the narrator comments only, v23 (on the successful outcome: 'he did not recognise him because his hands were hairy like his brother Esau's hands'). This comment comes midway through the series of 'tests' to which Isaac subjects Jacob in an effort to establish identity. These tests make for a complex series of exchanges.

- | | | |
|-----|--|-----------------|
| 18. | Who are you, my son? | El (Challenge) |
| 20. | How is it that you have found it so quickly, my son? | El (Challenge) |
| 21. | Come near, that I may feel you, my son | Dir (Challenge) |

24. Are you really my son Esau? El (Challenge)
25. Bring it to me, that I may eat of my son's game and bless you. Dir
26. Come near and kiss me, my son. Dir

After the framing move Jacob loses the initiative and Isaac puts him on the spot with his Elicitations and Directives, so that Jacob's rôle is reduced to the acts of Reply and React. Throughout this story Jacob is as much manipulated as Esau is thwarted (twice by Rebekah in the deceitful plan and the dismissal abroad, and here by his father). Observe how he is subject of nine verbs of motion and two verbs implying movement of the subject, i.e. more than half of the verbs of which he is subject. The Directives of others impel him to motion. Jacob's reply, v20, 'Because the Lord your God granted me success' is breath-taking in its ambiguity: in Jacob's mouth it seems a blasphemy, yet in the light of the oracle it might be the truth! Isaac takes it merely as a pious statement and continues with his investigation. Isaac's Informative move, v22, evaluates the evidence of the senses of hearing and touch, and it is revealed as contradictory. It is at this stage that the narrator makes his comment on the success of the ruse. It is the sense of touch reinforced by the senses of taste and smell (v25b, v27) which is decisive for Isaac, appropriate for a sensual man. In contrast, Rebekah trusts her sense of hearing (overhearing the conversation,

vv1-4, and the reception of the oracle, 25:23); one trusts intuition, the other appetite. Thus Isaac tastes the food, v25 (that I may eat of it) to ascertain whether it is the dish he ordered. The final test, that of smell (which shows Isaac not to be as senile as age and blindness may suggest: he has wits enough to effect Jacob's proximity without showing himself still uncertain) is the climax of the tests and leads into the blessing, v27 → vv28ff: like the blessing the preface is rhythmic and the word 'field' provides the context for 'dew', 'fatness', 'grain', 'wine'. Thus the blessing is made conditional on this series of tests, and they fail because the old man is seduced by appetite. (It is fitting that in 29:21ff Jacob himself is deprived of sight on his wedding night (there by the cover of darkness) and deceived; however, he employs none of his father's sensory tests and shows himself as much a victim of appetite as other male members of the family.)

5.3.4 TRANSACTION 4: Isaac-Esau, 27:31-40

Unlike Isaac and Jacob, Esau employs no Framing move, v31, but, blunt as his character, comes straight to the point. Interestingly he shows himself deferential, using the third person optative (Hebrew jussive), 'Let my father'; in contrast, Jacob uses a series of emphatic direct commands. Do these latter suggest Jacob's nervousness and desire to hasten the proceedings? We should also note how the two brothers refer to the game dish: Jacob: 'eat of my game', v19; Esau: 'eat of your son's game', v31.

Isaac in conversation with Jacob asks to 'eat of my son's game', v25. For Isaac and so for Esau the game is defined by the Hebrew post-head modifier implying that game which my son Esau alone was asked to bring. In the light of Esau's description of the game, Isaac's request is thus further confirmed as another test, and likewise Jacob's similar expression, but with 'my' instead of 'your son's', seems to betray a guilty conscience. The transaction comprises a complex of exchanges characterised by Challenges in which the initiative is shared by father and son as Esau attempts to persuade his father to give him the blessing which he soon knows 'to be used up'. Isaac's precipitation into agitated emotion: 'he trembled a great trembling', v33, is matched by Esau's despair. In the episode Esau is the one who is associated with verbs expressing violence of emotion or of action.

He cried out with a very great and bitter cry indeed, v34.

He lifted up his voice and wept, v38.

and in the 'blessing'

when you break loose, you shall break his yoke, v40.

and later after the discovery he is subject of the verbs 'hate' and 'kill'', v41. Thus, whereas Jacob was propelled to physical movement by the situation, Esau was propelled to emotional movement. Twice he uses the emphatic Directive, 'Bless me, even me also (gm 'ny)', vv34, 38. It is not really a blessing at all,

which the father manages to 'trawl up'. Jacob's blessing, vv28ff, as the form in general, is built about the (Hebrew) jussive; here Isaac uses a series of predictive imperfects as in Jacob's 'blessing', 49:1-27, (which is actually described as a series of predictions of his sons' fortunes, 49:1). It is ironic that when he arrives at the stage of death, Jacob should echo his father Isaac's blessing of his rival.

Thus we see how the simplicity of a dying father's intention has been complicated by the deceitful ploy, yet it all stands under the sway of the pregnancy oracle.

5.3.5 TRANSACTION 5: ESAU 27:41

Eau's private thoughts expressed as internal monologue have been included as a transaction for two reasons.

1. **Esau's** quasi-discourse Informative move as private thought, to which the reader is privileged party, invites a discourse response from the reader, i.e. Acknowledgement, Accept or a Challenging move.
2. Once Esau's intention becomes public knowledge, it is heard by Rebekah who reports it to Jacob in an Informative move and then reacts to it with a Challenging move. Thus Rebekah's exchange with Jacob is motivated by a report which comes to the reader's attention first.

5.3.6 TRANSACTION 6/7: Rebekah→Jacob 27:42-45

Rebekah→Isaac 27:46

Isaac-Jacob 28:1-4(5)

Rebekah is shown as a powerful force in the family, and like a number of Old Testament women she thwarts patriarchy in her own way. Having seized the initiative in the matter of the blessing and having in the process overridden Jacob's objection, she now secures his safety, subjecting him once more to her authority. After relinquishing responsibility in Transaction 2, Jacob is entirely deprived of the initiative both here and in Transaction 3 with his father. There he speaks for the last time in the episode, and in this final Transaction he is silent and we hear only that 'he went...', 28:5. Rebekah, however, cannot be seen to order him away; presumably that is a prerogative of the father. Thus Jacob's React is delayed whilst she now manipulates her husband a second time: on this occasion she herself utters the deception. That is how the present text leads us to understand her complaint about the Canaanite women. In itself it is not a lie. 26:35 informs us how Esau's wives discomfited Rebekah. Her fear that Jacob may marry such women is well-founded. It is the previous episode and especially its conclusion, 27:41ff, which makes Rebekah seize upon it as a pretext. If 27:46ff is the Priestly source, then the final narrator has integrated his material well into a new story. Rebekah's Informative is followed by the statement, 'Then Isaac called Jacob' and the ensuing

exchange is comprised of Isaac's Directives (command to depart and a blessing). Rebekah's Informative effectively functions like a Directive with the narrator's statement about Isaac's calling Jacob akin to the React. It is left to the reader to decide whether Isaac acts for a quiet life or sees through Rebekah's pretext and understands the danger Jacob must now be in. In either case his strong 'You shall not' (deontic imperfect), mocks him, since he is as much as a pawn as Jacob. Indeed, the subsequent blessing shows him reconciled to the situation. In the passage overall Isaac utters twelve imperatives, 25 percent of his verbs, Rebekah eleven imperatives (36 percent). He is associated constantly, as would be expected, with the lexis of benediction, 'bless' x 12, 'blessing' x 5 (+ 'bless' x 6 where Isaac = Subj), but significantly this lexis is juxtaposed with food lexis 'eat' x 7, (also 'drink x 1), 'savoury food' x 6, 'game' x 7, 'bread' x 1, and in the blessing 'fatness', 'grain', 'wine'. If the appetite is the undoing of Isaac and his likeness Esau, it will be the quiet, non-sensual Jacob who eats of fatness, though after much tribulation.

5.4 One last comment regarding sources. Our passage is commonly assigned to the Yahwist and Elohist sources, with the Priestly source appearing 27:46ff. I have found no need here to resort to source analyses. That is not to deny the use of sources, only to claim that a knowledge of them is not necessary for understanding this stretch of text as it stands here. Their interweaving, if

the hypothesis be correct, creates a new textual dynamic. Thus 27:23 need not be regarded as an awkward seam but, as argued earlier, it is a narrator's prolepsis (anticipation) after which he proceeds to highlight Isaac's sensual weakness. Likewise the Priestly material: it knew another account of Jacob's sojourn abroad, but now it is subsumed to the deceit episode.

CHAPTER FIVE

FOOTNOTE

1. The pioneering work for the approach to conversation outlined here was done by Sinclair and Coulthard (1a 1975) who investigated classroom exchanges. Coulthard (1a 1977) is a useful survey, which also discusses the contribution of the American conversational analysts.

CHAPTER 6

AN ETHNOGRAPHICAL APPROACH TO CONVERSATION

GENESIS 23

PREFACE TO CHAPTER 6

The episode of Sarah's death and Abraham's need to find a burial-place for her largely comprises a conversation which is a masterly pastiche of an oriental business transaction evincing the well-known evasive politeness. In this analysis I shall build on the previous example of conversational analysis by enriching the structural approach with insights from the work of other conversation theorists.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

6.1.1 Much of the sociologically-orientated work on conversation can be called ethnographical with its focus on conversation as a socially constituted symbolic act realising certain social norms, or, from a slightly different perspective, ethnomethodological: here Garfinkel (Ib 1976) sees conversation as a means whereby members of a society actually help create and make sense of social reality. Talk is not merely about actions, events and situations, it is also a potent and constitutive part of these actions, events and situations (Ib Potter and Wetherell 1987, p.21). Thus these approaches see conversation as both reflective of and constitutive of everyday social reality. Especially pertinent to this passage is the work of the following theorists:

6.1.2 Goffmann (Ib 1985, p.819) introduced the notion of face-work as fundamental to conversational practise. 'Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes' (Ib 1985, p.819). Since there is both positive and negative face, conversationalists have the task of maintaining positive face both for themselves and for their conversational partners. Brown and Levinson (Ib 1978) developed Goffmann's valuable notion by identifying types of relationship according to the criterion of face-work, e.g. in an asymmetrical relationship the powerful partner may be less concerned for the other's face unless the former's circumstances requires magnanimity of action. Face-work helps account for the way requests are frequently expressed in

indirect ways, sometimes seemingly to the point of obscuring a speaker's intention. Leech (Ib 1983) has a similar notion with his Politeness Principle. Face-work is mutually beneficial, because by preserving the other's face one is most likely to preserve one's own.

6.1.3 Grice has developed a much discussed account of conversation based on the Cooperative Principle which is constituted by four maxims or precepts ordered according to the following categories (Grice 1967, pp.45-46).

Quantity 1. Make your contribution as informative as is required.

2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

Quality 1. Do not say what you believe to be false.

2. Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Relation Be relevant.

Manner Be perspicuous

Where a speaker flouts a maxim, the addressee is to assume a conversational implicature, e.g. 'Is Smith bright?' 'Well, he attends all his classes', flouts the maxims of Relation and of

Manner in particular, and an addressee may be led to assume an implicature: Smith is dull. The assumption is that in conversation we cooperate and are not obscure for obscurity's sake. A listener will always try to make sense of an utterance. It is probable that Grice's maxims can be reduced to one: Be Relevant, and here the work of Sperber and Wilson is pertinent.

6.1.4 Sperber and Wilson (Ib 1986) see a principle of cooperation not as basic, but as derivative; it is a result of the speaker's desire to influence the hearer's set of assumptions. Therefore, a speaker strives to be relevant such that a listener will feel it worth their while to try to understand an utterance. Conversation is about communicatory intentions. We can round this picture off by reference to Macleod who, like Sperber and Wilson, rejects the common device of postulating a knowledge-of-the-world principle to explain how people understand one another's intentions and advocates instead a local view of conversation:

The partners in a conversation proceed as if they were both compiling their own joint, ad hoc, special-to-them, pocket-sized, throw-away propaedia (IIa Macleod unpublished).

In other words, the Firthian context of situation is the governing principle whilst global knowledge is far less determinative than claimed.

6.2 STRUCTURE OF THE EXCHANGE

6.2.1 The story of Genesis 23 opens with Abraham as a guest in 'Hittite' land; he has no legal rights to property as a gr (RSV 'stranger'), yet he must secure a place for the burial of his wife. The ensuing dialogue achieves this and can be understood as a legal transaction.

6.2.2 Analysis of Moves and Acts

Below is an overview of the dialogue reduced to its essential moves. [AB = Abraham; H = Hittites; Eph = Ephron]

		<u>MOVE</u>	<u>ACT</u>
Ab ¹	Give me property	Opening	Directive
H ¹	Bury your dead in the choicest of our sepulchres	{ [[Challenging (or)] { Supporting?)]	Directive
Ab ²	(Entreat for me Ephron) For the full price let him give it me.	Bound-Opening	Directive
Eph ¹	The field I give you	Challenging	Informative
Ab ³	I will give the price of the field	Challenging	Informative
Eph ²	A piece of land worth 400 shekels of silver, what is that between you and me? Bury your dead.	Supporting	Informative

Short as the conversation is, it is quite complex and not easy to analyse in a structural way. Hence the proposal to enrich the

methodology in order to probe more delicately the discourse situation.

This request for land, however small, can be considered an imposition ranking fairly high: in Brown and Levinson's terminology (Ib 1978, pp.70ff) it is a face-threatening act. It would give Abraham a legal-footing among the folk. But the reader, of course, by now knows that Abraham has been promised the entire land as a divine gift!

6.2.3 Narrative and Discourse Framework

TABLE 6.1: NARRATIVE AND DISCOURSE FRAMEWORK

<u>Narrative Framework</u>		<u>*Discourse Framework</u>	<u>Paralinguistic</u>
			<u>Gestures</u>
23:3	He (= Ab) spoke saying		Ab rose up
5-6	He ¹ answered (him)	Hear us, Sir	
7-8	He(= Ab ²) spoke	if you are willing ... hear me	Ab rose and bowed
10-11	Eph ¹ answered	no, Sir, hear me	Eph was sitting
12-13	He (= Ab ³) spoke	Oh, but if you would hear me	Ab bowed
14-15	Eph ² answered	Sir, hear me	Ab weighed out

* I have reflected the Hebrew more closely here than RSV

1. Whilst the turn-taking of Abraham's interlocutors is always introduced by the verb 'answer', ʕnh, Abraham uses 'speak', dbr, three times; the initial utterance marks both the end of the time of mourning (rose) and the inception of his quest for burying rights (saying). Thus Abraham takes the initiative each time: Ab¹ opens the negotiations; Ab² requests permission to approach a prospective seller; Ab³ insists on a legal transaction. That, however, is not the full picture, for although Abraham does the pushing, the others appear to deflect.

2. Whereas the Hittites and Ephron always commence their central moves with a summons, Abraham fails to do so initially. Their summonses function structurally to win a hearing, and this is apparent from the particular Hebrew linguistic **item** used here, 'hear', šmʕ. But they are more than mere attention-grabbers: they are also politeness formulae. Thus three out of four have an honorific vocative, Sir (literally 'my lord', ʕdny), and one has a peculiar non-sequitur grammatical construction:

v13 if (presupposes qtl/yqtl form) + imperative

(It is best to respect the text, which makes sense, and not emend lo = 'to him', vv5/14, to lu = 'if', as BHS suggests.) Abraham's summons, v13, is highly marked by its want of grammatical smoothness resulting in a hesitatory effect. It

is introduced with a particle expressing emotion, 'k, and followed by two anacolouthons.

<u>'k</u>	<u>'m</u>	<u>'tth</u>	<u>lw</u>	<u>šm^cny</u>
but oh	if	you	if	hear me

(The emendation by some ancient versions of lw = if to ly = '(to) me' hardly smooths the grammar).

It is likely that we should regard these hiatuses as the hesitation of politeness: Abraham does not want to appear too bold in challenging the speaker's offer. However, his words probably go beyond this and demonstrate a conventional form fragmented by strong emotion: Abraham in his delicate situation insists upon his request: a portion of the promised land, legally owned. These politeness forms can be seen as instances of 'face', i.e. the speakers are careful to maintain a positive face for both parties.

3. It is noteworthy that Abraham is as consistent in not using an honorific vocative as the Hittites and Ephron are in using one, Abraham's interlocutors being in a position of power (+p), can afford to treat Abraham magnanimously (probably, as suggested later, with an ulterior motive).

6.3 THE ANALYSIS

6.3.1 Abraham begins with a deprecatory self-designation (stranger and sojourner) which is, however, two-edged, for it both evinces the humility of one without property rights, and the strategy of one determined to achieve a goal by putting his interlocutors on the spot: how can they refuse one in such a plight? He then immediately makes clear his request: 'Give me possession of a grave.' In the work of Brown and Levinson (Ib 1978, pp 79ff), a person in Abraham's situation is described as being in a situation of powerlessness (- p) and of considerable social distance (+ d). Such a person should adopt one of two approaches to those who are +p and +d: 'off-record' or 'deference' politeness, i.e. he either mentions his request in a casual way, so that it can easily be overlooked without embarrassment to the requested person, or he is circumspect and deferential in mentioning the request; he minimises the threat to and imposition on his interlocutor. But here Abraham not only does not use an unequivocal politeness formula, but uses the approach of someone who is +p, a 'bald on-record' request, 'give me'. Abraham's situation is urgent now that the mourning rite is completed. The requested who are +p, +d avoid a 'bald on-record' response, i.e. a refusal and use the other response characteristic of an asymmetrical discourse relationship: solidarity politeness, i.e. treat Abraham condescendingly. Note the politeness form reinforced by the flattering declarative relational clause: 'you are a prince of God (or a mighty prince) among us.' This very

cleverly picks up Abraham's

I am a <u>stranger and sojourner</u>	<u>with you</u>	v4
you are a <u>mighty prince</u>	<u>in our midst</u>	v6

6.3.2 Not only do the Hittites accord Abraham a lofty status, -d (this may be more than mere flattery; it could be a reference to Abraham's wealth and so a hint that should a deal be permitted, he will have to pay dearly), but they echo his adjunct of place with a somewhat fuller (and stronger form) ḫmkm: bwtknw. Adjuncts of place = location are important in the conversation and function in two ways:

vv4-9a a place in a foreign land: 'among you', v4; 'in our midst', v5; 'in the choicest of our tombs', v6; 'at the end of the field', v9.

vv9b-15 a place legally owned ('witness' adjuncts), 'in your midst', v9; 'in the hearing (ears) of ...', v10, 13; 'in the eyes of ...', v11.

Their distribution marks the two stages in the conversation: I 4-9a, Abraham's request for a burial-place, and II 4b-15, Abraham's legal negotiation for its purchase. It is possible to understand the Hittites' response in two different ways:

1. as a refusal of Abraham's request for legally held property, i.e. a challenging move to deflect,
2. as a gesture of compliance with Abraham's request, i.e. a supporting move.

Commentators make much of the gravity of Abraham's intention to acquire legal property. In this reading Abraham's second turn is an expression of stubborn insistence. Yet only Abraham's self-designation 'stranger and sojourner' hint at such a reading, and Abraham's request that his interlocutors petition Ephron seems awkward. It sounds as if Abraham has done some preliminary work. It is simpler to read the Hittites' answer as a supporting move. It probably contains the subtle hint that the purchase of a grave will cost Abraham, and the marked adjunct (in the Hebrew) 'in the choicest of our sepulchres', v6, reinforces this hint: the grave will be an expensive one as befits Abraham's status! Reading 1. presupposes a knowledge-of-the-world context: requests for land by strangers are a hazardous business. Reading 2. can be seen as an instance of Macleod's local context in the making. Abraham expresses an intention to buy and recognises that he cannot call the tune. The Hittites acknowledge his intention and allow him to infer that the deal will be a costly one; their desire to make an advantageous bargain is tempered by face, but 'mighty prince' and 'choicest sepulchre' are highly relevant whilst appearing to be flattering. There is something else at work as well. Whether the Hittites are sincere or not in their use of 'prince', the reader

knows of Abraham's real status as granted by the deity: he is indeed a mighty prince because he is designated potential lord of the whole land!

6.3.3 The first exchange has introduced an important lexical feature: repetition of 'bury' [(one's) dead one]. Here three times. It runs throughout (seven times in all).

imperative	x 3	}	Abraham x 3	always + my dead (one)
declarative	x 2	}		
infinitive	x 2	}	Hittites/Ephron	always + your dead one

It occurs in every single move; additionally the cognate noun is used four times, grave(s), v4, 5 (twice), 9, three of which occur in the phrase 'possession of a grave.' This lexical motif operating at textual and ideational level is the key motif of the text expressing the discourse-topic. Sarah is the first member of the Patriarchal family to die (the narrator focuses elsewhere just as strongly on other rites de passage: promise of birth of first child to Patriarchal couple and circumcision, chapter 17; marriage of first Patriarchal offspring, chapter 24). So here the writer is anxious to show the will of God on such an occasion: Sarah is to be buried not in foreign land, but in ground legally acquired and proleptically already Abraham's by divine right. The Hittites/Ephron in every move use the imperative 'bury your dead', underlining their willingness for this procedure; Sarah is not buried in land obtained in a begrudging deal.

6.3.4 The Hittites have spoken ostensibly of a grave as a gift, but by implicature as a purchase. In his second turn, vv7-8, Abraham makes explicit and unmistakable his intention, but before speaking he makes a non-verbal gesture of deference to their offer: he recognises that they are being co-operative (in not rejecting his request outright and in accommodating to it as far as they feel they can). Abraham commences his move (bound-opening) by summarising his understanding of the negotiation to this point, v8a, 'I ask you to heed a coming request on the premise that you are willing for me to bury my dead here among you'. There follow two imperatives. Of the seven imperatives in the conversation (excluding 'hear') five are spoken by Abraham, 'give', v4, 'entreat', v8, '(let him) give', v9 (twice), 'accept', v13, all making it clear that Abraham is the petitioner, whereas the Hittites use only 'bury' as an imperative = 'offer'. v8 effects the entry of Ephron and the interchange becomes characterised now by obliqueness realised in indirect speech acts.

Ab² entreat for me Ephron... for the full price let him give
it (the cave) me in your
presence. vv8-9.

Eph¹ the field I give you, and the cave which is in it to you
I give; in the eyes of the people I give it to you.
v11.

Ab³ I will give the price of the field; accept it. v13.

Ep² land worth 400 shekels; between you and me what is that?
v15.

Abraham agreed (Hebrew 'listened to') with Ephron...v16.

Let us note first what is happening at lexico-grammatical level.

1, 'give' occurs seven times in the exchanges, six of them in vv9-13, (the Abraham-Ephron section). Abraham twice uses it with 'price', vv9, 13 = sell; once alone but subsequently glossed by one of the aforementioned occurrences, v9, and once with 'possession' as object, v4. There is a progression from v4 to v9: from an ambiguous use to an explicit use = sell. Ephron on the contrary, v11, uses it three times, seemingly in its straightforward sense: he never uses it with an expression of price. This needs to be stored for when we discuss how the commercial transaction is arrived at.

2 , Themes: Ephron uses three marked Themes (underlined above),
v11.

<u>Theme</u>		
Obj (field)	V	PP
Obj (cave)	PP	V
PP (in the eyes of)	V	PP

These contrast with Abraham's sole marked Theme, 'for the full price, v9b; that is Abraham's point-of-honour: he has no other choice. Ephron takes his point of departure from the property he owns (field and cave) which he offers to Abraham 'in the eyes of my people'. There are interesting interconnections here:

that he may give me the cave of Machpelah which he owns, which is at the end of his field; for the full price let him give it to me in your midst as a possession for a burying place, v9.

the field I give you and the cave which is in it to you I give it, in the eyes of my people I give it to you, v11.

Abraham mentions the 'field' in a restrictive relative clause juxtaposed with a similar clause, both serving to identify the cave; Ephron makes 'field' thematised object in a main clause which comes first (in a triad of main clauses) preceding the clause which mentions the cave. Grammatically the field now assumes greater prominence, the position in a main clause foregrounds it; for Abraham it had functioned merely as a modifier to identify the cave. Ephron skilfully drives a hard bargain: it is to be both field and cave.

3. Adjuncts of Place: Abraham uses an adjunct of place which is probably ambiguous in its reference: it is the same word as used by the Hittites, v6. The adjunct of place patterning overall

looks like this, vv4-9.

v4	a stranger and sojourner <u>among you</u>	ᵑ _{mkm}
v6	you are a mighty prince <u>in our midst</u>	btwkm
	<u>in the choicest</u> of our sepulchres	b-
v9	let him give it me <u>in your midst</u>	btwk
v11	<u>in the eyes of my people</u> I give it	lᵑ _{yny}

The preposition ᵑ_m can have a comitative and a spatial meaning. In v4 Abraham is with the Hittites spatially but not socially, for he has no legal standing. The Hittites acknowledge his spatial presence but, in contrast with Abraham's use of ᵑ_m, the Hittites' btwk probably has overtones of 'in our very midst': thus, though spatial, it picks up the non-spatial social dimension denied in v4, under the influence of 'a mighty prince'. Then they offer Abraham a specific location for his dead wife: on this everything turns. Abraham wants that location to give him rights. Now v9 is taken by the English versions either as a straightforward spatial adjunct: NIV 'a burial-site among you', NEB 'a burial-place within your territory', or as an expression of legal presence, JB 'let him make it over to me in your presence'. Ephron, v11, uses an adjunct which can only mean the latter. Thus in the exchanges up to v10, the adjunct hints at the delicacy of the matter in

hand: what kind of presence is Abraham to have in Hittite land, and at the very moment when he makes explicit his intention: a legal presence, the adjunct remains equivocal, v9, but is seized on by Ephron, who disambiguates it, in the sense Abraham intends it, but such that he appears to deflect Abraham altogether: a witnessed handing-over but apparently as a gift to result only in a spatial presence.

6.3.5 To Abraham's request for the assembled to entreat Ephron, we might expect a turn in conversation from the addressed, but Ephron now turn-takes. He clearly understands 'entreat for me Ephron' as an indirect speech-act: it fulfils a necessary precondition for Abraham to treat with him directly, i.e. that he have the approval of the community. The community has already entered into dialogue in Aabraham, so Ephron can regard the permission as granted and treats Abraham's utterance as a necessary politeness. He opens his move with a negation of Abraham's proposal, and appears to make a generous gift not only of the cave but the field with it, and apparently he binds himself to this offer:

1. he uses the perfect (qtl form) nttty¹
2. he designates the gathered as witnesses.

This seems a risky move. Was Ephron making an offer so generous that Abraham would be compelled to accept if he wanted to maintain

face? This assumes Ephron's willingness (at his own expense) to prevent Abraham becoming legally entitled, but it also assumes that Ephron meant to make a gift. More likely, he had an eye to the main chance: he capitalises on Abraham's urgency with a package which Abraham could only turn down by losing face. Commentators remind us that the offer to give is a normal bargaining procedure in the Middle East and is never taken at face value. In British convention there is a similar strategy:

- A. 'What do you want for that?'
- B. 'Oh, it doesn't matter, you can have it'.
- A. 'Come on, now, name a price.'
- B. 'I couldn't even guess'
- A. 'What about £10', etc.

If after the first exchange, the bidder walked off with the item, the other person would feel that it was not fair play! Thus in Ephron's offer a conversational implicature is to be understood: Ephron flouts the maxims of quality: says 'give', not 'sell', and of manner: he is ambiguous. Ephron says P and implicates Q, and Abraham knows that 'give' in most situations means 'to make a gift of', but not in this context where a petitioning party is publicly desiring purchase. Thus Abraham contradicts, but the contradiction, part of the contextual strategy, is done politely: Ephron needs to appear generous and accommodating, Abraham needs to show himself grateful. So the two quickly come to an agreement. Abraham is very careful not to show himself

ungrateful: witness the bow and the heightened politeness form, which it was suggested earlier might go beyond the conventional expression of deference. Ephron's offer may be a well-known convention, but so desperate is Abraham to have legal entitlement that he seems to act as though Ephron really means to give him the land. This is a nice tension. Both sides play rôles in the conversation, but here, perhaps, Abraham's mask slips a little.

6.3.6 In v15 Ephron mentions the price (probably an astronomical one) incidentally in a rhetorical question: such a price is of no matter between us, get on and bury your dead. Again, we have a conversational implicature with flouting chiefly of the maxim of quality: the price does matter! Ephron then concludes the whole transaction adroitly, 'Bury your dead'; Abraham's purpose is attained but nothing is said in this final utterance of purchase. Face has been upheld: the Hittites and Ephron have shown positive face throughout and have been careful to maintain Abraham's social face. Abraham has been flattered in being thought worthy of a gift of land and the sordid matter of buying and selling has been overlaid with the noble quality of generosity. There is no need to see the exchanges in terms of a give v buy conflict generated either by the issue of legal change of status or by a tension between the largesse of one party and the pride of the other. Both parties know themselves to be engaged in negotiations for land-purchase; everything here is relevant to that purpose. Intentions are not expressed starkly (here = negative face) but are nonetheless conveyed successfully. Everyone has acted

relevantly in this particular context of situation.

6.4 REGISTER

6.4.1 The legal nature of the passage is marked by the following factors:

1. Emphasis on witness: adjuncts of place, vv10, 11, 13, 16
in the eyes/ears of
2. Impersonal references to Sarah: outside the dialogue
'Sarah', especially v2, and 'Sarah his wife', v19a;
otherwise, only 'dead one'.
3. Details of location, cave v17 (five defining relative
clauses).
4. Repetition 'bury one's dead' x 7; 'possession of a
burying-place' x 3; 'made over to Abraham as' (Hebrew, 'came
to Abraham') x 2 (vv17/20).

6.4.2 The politeness forms and the non-linguistic behaviour plus the implicatures indicate the delicate nature of the negotiation. The transitivity patterns of the conversation especially support the theme:

21 verbs process:material

conversation is typical of oriental deference in legal transactions.² Brown and Levinson claim that the principle is pan-cultural. There is

an extraordinary parallelism in the linguistic minutiae of the utterances in which persons choose to express themselves in quite unrelated languages and cultures .. the convergence is in the particular divergences from some highly rational, maximally efficient mode of communication' (Ib Brown and Levinson 1978, pp.61-62).

This divergence from such rational modes of communication as the Gricean maxims is motivated by politeness and face, but always in such a manner as to be relevant. Linguistically much work still remains in relating surface or grammatical forms to their discourse function in a particular context. The mediating situational categories of statement, question and command suggested by Sinclair and Coulthard (Ia 1975, p.29) are one attempt, and the nature of these categories suggests elaboration in the direction of speech-act theory, although this can lead to excessive detail and obfuscation as in Edmondson (Ia 1981). Work on semantic networks is as yet rudimentary, but it is the socio-semantic component as constitutive of context of situation which can ultimately elucidate the relationship of surface and discourse functions. Of course, further work would also need to be done on other Old Testament conversations and comparison made with **Near** Eastern transactions. Brown and Levinson's description

of conversational partners in terms of indices Power, p, Distance, d, Rank, r, (not social, see below) is particularly useful. Recapitulating on the first exchange, vv3-6,

Abraham's status -p +d, and this in a delicate position because he makes a request which is +r, high in the imposition scale of face-threatening acts for this culture. Yet he does so 'bald-on-record' as though +p; his real status, however, could meet with a 'bald-on-record' response 'no', but the nature of the request prevents this.

Hittites' status +p +d, but they treat Abraham as though +p -d, so that a symmetrical relationship is constituted, of which 'solidarity politeness' is characteristic, hence the flattery, attention to Abraham's wants and the 'gift'. Such an elaborate exchange is indeed best explained in terms of mutual satisfaction of wants.

6.5.2 Slacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (Ib 1974, p.729) suggest that conversation and ceremony constitute two poles of a continuum and describe the forms of exchange other than conversation as representing a variety of transformations of conversation. Conversation itself is ritual **in as** far as it is socially regulated in its complex of rules and conventions. In Genesis 23 we are some way along the spectrum with an overtly stylised transaction characteristic of the **commercial** dealings of the ancient **Near** East, and employed to tell a story which is both

entertaining and theologically important. Abraham is outwitted and pays handsomely: he gets more than he bargained for. As Gibson comments, '... Abraham must have known he was being done' (III Gibson 1981, p. 118). There lies the humour. But there is irony too: Abraham is the recipient of the divine promise of the land. He pays for what he is promised as a gift as though buying the promised land piece-meal. But most important of all, Sarah and those who post-decease her lie in ground no longer gentile. There is the theological seriousness.

CHAPTER 6

FOOTNOTES

1. For this legal use of the qtl form, see p. 71 and footnote 8, p. 97 both referring to I Sam 1 : 28.
2. See the comment in Skinner (III 1930, p. 336).

SECTION 3

THE STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF PERSUASION

CHAPTERS 7-10

CHAPTER 7

THE PERSUASION OF THE PREACHER

the linguistics of inculcation

DEUTERONOMY 8:1-11:1

PREFACE TO CHAPTER 7

The Deuteronomy passage like the other three texts in this section has to do with persuasion. In the present text I shall analyse how the speaker relates himself to his audience and what means he employs to get their attention to inculcate and to educate. In Hallidayan terminology the interest lies in the mode and tenor components of register and the choices made at textual and interpersonal levels.

7.1 INTRODUCTION

7.1.1 ... and you shall keep the commandments of Yahweh your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt with a strong arm to a good land which he swore to give to your fathers, and you shall know that it is Yahweh your God who goes before you to destroy the nations, so that you may go in and possess the land and when you have gone in and possessed the land, you shall not forget Yahweh your God and go after other gods but Yahweh your god you shall love that it may go well with you all your days in the land which Yahweh your God has given you to possess, as he swore to your fathers.

7.1.2 The above is not a quotation from Deuteronomy, but a pastiche superficially and rapidly composed: it illustrates the obsessional dimension of Deuteronomy's style such that it readily lends itself to imitation and to listing of characteristic words and phrases as in S R Driver's introduction to his commentary (III 1896): five and a half sides of seventy entries. It is clearly the manner of the preacher bent on persuasion and inculcation (and some might say mesmerisation). It is, however, saved from becoming a brutal, hectoring manner by the sensitive feel for rhythm and balance, e.g.:

Not because of your righteousness and uprightness of heart are you going in to possess their land, but because of the wickedness of these nations Yahweh your God is driving them

out from before you and that he may confirm the word which he swore to your fathers, to Abraham, to Isaac and to Jacob.

9:5

The two halves of the sentence stand in an adversative coordination and balance with their corresponding first place adjuncts of reason, and with the use of the participle, which necessitates an expressed pronoun subject (unlike a finite verb), so setting 'You' against 'Yahweh your God'; the second half of the sentence is finished with a typical flourish, here a non-finite clause of purpose whose final nominal has the so characteristic restrictive relative clause.

At times the prose style is so balanced as to tempt to lay out as poetry. In short, we shall be analysing a style which is rhetorical, one which caught on and become influential. Moreover, the practitioners of this style use a kind of verbal visual aid, and constantly refer the audience to the story of the nation's past, to the wilderness period, so that we have a fascinating interweaving of historical recall into the sermon. It is into this setting that the Laws of Deuteronomy are placed, 12-26, and even the laws themselves are presented rhetorically. Compare the law on bribery in the Book of the Covenant, Exodus 23:6-8, with Deuteronomy's framing of it, 16:19-20 (RSV has been made to reflect original more closely):

Exodus You shall not pervert justice due to your poor in their suit.

From a false charge you shall keep far away, and the innocent and righteous do not slay, for I will not acquit the wicked.

And a bribe you shall not take, for a bribe blinds the clear-sighted and subverts the cause of those in the right.

Deuteronomy You shall not pervert justice.
 You shall not show partiality and you shall not take a bribe, for a bribe blinds the eyes of the wise and subverts the cause of the righteous.
 Justice, Justice you shall pursue, in order that you may live and inherit the land which Yahweh your God gives you.

Two major characteristics account for Deuteronomy's difference from Exodus (it is usually accepted that Deuteronomy knew the Exodus material).

1. The Deuteronomy manneristic phraseology, here appearing in the well-known flourish (clause of purpose and restrictive relative clause containing key lexis: live, inherit, land, Yahweh your God, give).

2. The shaping of the legislation on perversion of justice into a rhythmic unit.

- a. Exodus has a series of clauses with different structural themes: verb, adjunct, complement. Deuteronomy has replaced this arrangement with three declarative verbs as theme in clauses shorn of other additions except for the third, so that the unit has a forceful beginning.
- b. The series of negatives is balanced by a clause with a declarative of positive polarity (you shall pursue) and a repeated marked theme (justice...)

In addition, Deuteronomy provides the subversion of judicial legislation with an introduction, v18, requiring the appointment of judicial officials who will judge justly. Thus vv19-20 becomes a manifesto or charter for judges.

7.1.3 I have chosen the selected passages to afford an opportunity to analyse stretches of two of Deuteronomy's kinds of material.

- a. the parenetic (exhortation)

- i 8:1-9:6 (with historical recall)

- ii 10:12-11:1

- b. the historical narrative 9:7-10:11

I shall look at these separately and then review them together.

7.2 The Style of Exhortation: Discourse Structure

- 7.2.1 I shall analyse the passage according to the following subdivisions:

8:1-6

8:7-20

9:1-6

9:8-10:11

10:12-11:1

Although Deuteronomy is frequently seen as the work of a school over a period of time, the kind of phenomena which are held to signal conflation of different sources are not conspicuous in this stretch (9:13-14 and 10:6-9) usually qualify). Comment will be made where appropriate. The best place to start is probably with the intersemantic relations of the texts, so that we can see how they hold together as a whole. We shall then look at the rhythm and balance of the material.

7.2.2 8:1-6

This chapter picks up a motif in chapter 7:12-13, and in particular v13b: material abundance; 7:1-6, through a historical retrospect, reminds of a time of want when Israel had to learn to depend on Yahweh for material things; 7:7-20 forecasts a time of affluence, and again the wilderness era is evoked for comparison to remind that it is Yahweh who is giver.

v1 statement of general interest functioning as introduction to the whole of the chapter.

All the commandment ... you shall observe to do that you may live....

The purpose clause is significant: there are twelve conjunctions expressing purpose in chapter 8: 'in order that' lm^cn v1, vv2, 3, 16, 18; simple 'to' l with the infinitive vv2, 16, 18; and 'lest' pn (negative purpose) vv11, 12-17 (with nine coordinated verbs). Such clauses are characteristic of Deuteronomy's way of teaching: reasons are given for actions and injunctions.

The teacher anticipates the 'Why'? of the audience and thus attempts to motivate them by explanation: Yahweh's actions and requirements are not arbitrary or purposeless: there is a grand plan and great wisdom behind them.

v2 and you shall remember.

Here 'remember', zkr , functions to signal a historical recall; more generally, as elsewhere, its function is as a focaliser:

8:18 you shall remember Yahweh your God, for it is he ...

9:7 remember and do not forget how you provoked Yahweh...

Attention is drawn to a historical episode or situation. It almost demands the pointed finger of the pedagogue, as does 'know' later on. With this injunction begins a terse lesson illustrated by the manna story.

vv2-3 He led you ... that he might humble you, testing you to know what was in your heart ... whether you would keep his commandments or not, and he humbled you and hungered and fed you ... that he might make you know that ...

The speaker does not subsequently answer the questions: 'What was in our hearts?' 'Would we keep his commandments?' He is interested here in the lesson to be learned; elsewhere he answers these questions unequivocally: 9:7ff is one such answer. Having established the purpose of the humbling, he states it once more, this time as a main verb coordinated with two other verbs which describe the manner of humbling: 'by making you experience hunger and then feeding you.' The sentence ends with two nominal

complement clauses in adversative coordination, v3b: the negative and positive highlighting the lesson; again, a not untypical educator's device. In v4 he supplements the manna provision with a brief reference to other aspects of human need and comfort: clothing and healthy feet.

v5 and you shall know (RSV 'know then') in your heart that

...

Like 'remember', 'know', yd^c also functions as focaliser, in this case, to point the lesson and enjoin it on the hearers. This is the overriding principle: benevolent, purposeful discipline to which the wilderness hardship bears witness in general, and the provision of manna specifically. In this light, v4 (the sartorial and chiropodic care) does not quite fit in: Israel was not made to go near naked in rags with sore feet. Perhaps Deuteronomy means that God spared them this hardship and drew attention to his provision only at certain points, e.g. hunger and food by initial deprivation.

v6 so (= 'and') you shall keep the commandments ... by ...

v6 picks up the introductory verse and so rounds off this section. One of the reasons given for keeping this general injunction 'that you may live' (stay alive, thywn) 8:1, has been well illustrated: only through Yahweh's care was Israel in the wilderness able to stay alive.

We have in 8:1-6 a simple but effective pedagogic structure:

- v1 introduction
- vv2-4 historical recall (introduced by focalising verb:
remember)
- v5 lesson (introduced by focalising verb: know)
- v6 conclusion

7.2.3 8:7-20

The structure of vv7-20 is unusually dense and complex for Hebrew syntax. We have had a hint of such density in vv1-6 with its purpose clauses and its complement and relative clauses. **The** ky, loosely attaches v7ff to vv1-6 and coincides with a switch of the speaker's view-point from past divine actions of benevolence to future divine blessing. The speaker's audience is poised between these two eras in time, so that 8:1-6 and 8:7-10 balance one another. 8:11-20 envisages a pessimistic consequence of such future abundance: material corruption, and embeds within itself, vv14b-16, a flashback to the situation depicted in vv1-6. vv11ff depend on v10 with its three resultative actions consequential on 'is bringing you', v7. The speaker contemplates the non-occurrence of the third action, 'you shall bless.'

vv7-10 For Yahweh your God brings you into a good land (plus three and a half lines of modification) and you shall

eat and be full and you shall bless Yahweh your God.

v11 Take heed lest you forget Yahweh your god.

v12 lest

vv12-13 When (not Hebrew) you have eaten and are full + five
coordinated verbs.

vv14-16 then (**waw**) your heart be lifted up and you forget
Yahweh your God + four relative clauses → 8:2-4.

v17 Beware lest (only 'and' for these two words in Hebrew)
you say 'my power and the might of my hand have gotten
me this wealth.'

v18 (Hebrew 'and') you shall remember Yahweh ... for he
gives you power ... that he might confirm....

v19 and if you forget + three coordinate clauses ... I warn
you this day that ...

The complexity of the passage is caused by the retrospective and
prospective viewpoints:

vv7-10 Prospective Stage 1

vv11-20 Prospective Stage 2

with two embedded retrospectives in Stage 2.

vv12-13 Projected recent past

vv14b-16 Actual recent past

The lengthy and highly descriptive temporal clause of vv7-10 paints a detailed and vivid picture of the new land (it is an estate agent's description). The speaker is excited to eloquence here at the thought of the land and so hopes to excite his audience too, that they may realise the immensity of the divine generosity. The clause continues for five and a half lines: then the preacher deflates his 'hwyl' with 'take heed', hššmr, (ten times in Deuteronomy, nearly 50 per cent of its usage in the Old Testament), a little word which receives great emphasis through this build-up. There follows the first negative purpose clause, brief and to the point: it now picks up the earlier injunctions at v1 and v6. It is followed, vv12-17, by another purpose clause of great complexity: 'lest', pn, + nine coordinate clauses. They are all governed by the conjunction, but there is a distinction between the verbs of vv12-13 (activities and actions promised partly at v10 and earlier 7:13ff), and the verbs of v14 and v17 (expressing reprehensible reactions in Deuteronomy). Hence RSV introduces 'when', vv12, 13; 'then', v14 and 'beware lest', v17, i.e. the non-reprehensible actions are placed in a temporal clause, and the reprehensible actions are focused first by 'then' and later the forceful 'beware lest', which introduces the climax. Together vv7-10 and vv12-13 depict a similar future state; they

complement one another, for it is the fertility and abundance of the land in vv7-10 which makes such living in vv12-13 possible. This second purpose clause is a vivid illustration for the bland 'lest' clause of v11, and it employs a long temporal clause before the main verb is reached. Just as in v7a, a noun ('land') is expanded, so here also: 'Yahweh your God', the four relative clauses separating the first clause kernel from its coordinate member at v17 (Hebrew 'and you say').

After this long clause the speaker homes in tersely on the point he is making, using the focaliser 'remember'. The discourse ends with a warning expressed as a condition. It does not appear to be appropriate to the discourse, since a penalty is threatened not for pride but for apostasy. In 8:11-18 the vacuum left by the forgetting of God is filled by self, v17; here it is filled by other gods. Some would attribute the conclusion to a later member of the Deuteronomistic circle. Indeed, the passage is introduced with the discourse division marker *whyh* and the ancient yearly cycle of readings Deuteronomy makes 8:19-20 one liturgical unit. RSV tries to link it to the foregoing with 'and', ignoring the stronger Hebrew discourse marker (NIV/NEB have a new paragraph). In fact, the passage functions as a bridge, with 'forget' picking up 8:11 and 'perish' of both nations and Israel anticipating, 9:3b, of the nations. It now makes the forgetting of 8:11-18 a precondition of apostasy: the heart that is lifted up against Yahweh will be ensnared by other powers.

7.2.3 Summary

We can now reduce these discourses to their essential outline.

The heart of vv1-6 is the historical recall; vv11-20 is quite different. There the historical material is not central: it is introduced in a series of relative clauses and does not serve to illustrate a lesson but to make clear the enormity of forgetting Yahweh. The passage is orientated to the future, hence the great circumstantial detail of the temporal clauses. In this discourse, the purpose clause of v1 and the future tense of v10 are presupposed as realised in vv12-13, and the focus of remembering shifts from the actions of Yahweh (expressed using finite verbs in main clauses) to Yahweh himself, v18a, and his activities are now relegated to relative clauses using participles. The remembering is emphasised by using additionally the antonym 'forget', vv11, 14, 19. It is not enough simply to remember his actions: the required response, as expressed implicitly elsewhere many times, is to the person of Yahweh himself (see later, 10:12ff, especially v20). And so the solemn warning of vv19-20 becomes apposite: the valuing of the gifts and the non-recognition of their true status leaves a person prey to other hardships. Thus chapter 8, however distributed among editorial hands, does function as a unit with the stages of the discourses complementary to one another, and embracing past and future.

7.2.5 9:1-6

The chapter division here is warranted by a temporal shift to the speaker's present.

VI Hear, Israel, you are about to pass over the Jordan this day ...

The imperative and vocative also clearly signal a new discourse. It is surprising how scarce the vocative is in Deuteronomy: elsewhere 4:1, 5:1, 6:4, 10:12. Nowhere in chapter 8 is there a vocative, and even in the introductory chapter Moses's first words of address have none. In the other occurrences there follow a proclamation and declaration of law; here it calls to attention an Israel about to embark on conquest. In the light of its previous uses at 4:1, 5:1, 6:4, the latter two with the same imperative 'hear' and both introducing the very heart of the divine commandments: Decalogue and the injunction to hear Yahweh, it acquires a solemn, high tone: what follows is of immense importance. This is borne out by the lesson to be inculcated: whereas in chapter 8 the fear is of Israel's forgetting her dependence on Yahweh and becoming seduced by affluence, here the fear is of Israel's going beyond the delusion of 'my power and the might of my hand' to a delusion of moral superiority and a mistaken righteousness:

v3 and you shall know (RSV 'know therefore') this day ...

Here the focalising function is different from that in 8:5: there it pointed the lesson illustrated by the historical episode; here it is proleptic: vv1b-2 have magnified the formidableness of the foe to be dispossessed, and v3 answers the question presupposed in the audience's mind: How can we overcome such a foe? It is Yahweh who will overcome.

v3b He will destroy them and He (not RSV) will subdue them.

The pronoun is emphatic¹ and gives priority to this statement over the following which ascribes to Israel a part in the vanquishing of the opposition: here no emphatic pronouns are used and RSV is right to translate the second waw as 'so', v3b. Thus the preacher anticipates Israel's fear and immediately himself entertains a fear: Israel may misunderstand the nature of the victory and attribute it to a deserving righteousness on its part, v4. The speaker tries immediately to forestall this morally disastrous misunderstanding, v5. The nations deserve to be dispossessed, and if Israel benefits, it has nothing to do with her moral rectitude; indeed, Israel benefits because Yahweh has promised this to their ancestors.

v6 and you shall know (RSV 'know therefore')

This time, as at 8:5, 'know' points the lesson.

The structure of the discourse has a pleasing simplicity:

vv1-2	Hear, O Israel...	<u>Introduction</u>	scene-setting
v3	and you shall know ...	<u>Focaliser</u> :	premise of conquest
			{Thesis
v4	do not say...	<u>Argument</u> :	{and
			{
v5	not because of your		{Rebuttal
v6	and you shall know	<u>Focaliser</u> :	specific lesson

This is the least graphic of the three discourses, but it is effective because of its terseness and bluntness. Thus all the discourses display considerable variety with not too dissimilar frameworks despite the obsessional language, which we will soon examine. Common to all are the focalising verbs (RSV often uses the imperative).

8:1-6 and you shall remember
 and you shall know

7-20 take heed
 and you shall remember

9:1-6 and you shall know
 and you shall know
 remember and do not forget

7.2.6 10:12-11:1

I want to jump now to 10:12-11:1, and leave the first person historical narrative for separate treatment. 10:12ff enables us to examine one more passage which is primarily parenthesis (RSV attaches 11:1 to another discourse).

v12 and now Israel, what does Yahweh your God require of you
but to....

As at 9:1, a solemn introduction with the vocative but without an attention-getting verb. The discourse adjunct 'and now', w^ctth, links the discourse to the foregoing historical narrative in a loose way. The question, then subsequently answered, is a typical pedagogic device and sets the programme for the discourse: the divine requirements. The structure of the passage cleverly reflects this and embeds the injunctions in descriptions of Yahweh's greatness.

12-13	and now, Israel, what does Yahweh your God require of you...?	Introduction: summary of general Requirement
-------	---	---

a. 14	Behold to Yahweh your God belong....	Grandeur of the divine power
-------	---	---------------------------------

- 15 Yet Yahweh set his heart Illustration
in love upon your fathers
....
- 16 and so you shall circumcise Specific Requirement
....
- b. 17 for Yahweh your god is God Grandeur of the divine
of gods ... who is not justice
partial....
- 18 he executes justice for Illustration
....
- 19 so you shall love the Specific Requirement
stranger
- c. 20 Yahweh your God you shall Emphatic restatement of
fear introduction
- 21 for he is your praise ... Grandeur of the divine
who has done for you these salvation
great and terrible things
....
- 22 seventy persons your Illustration
fathers went....
- 1 and you shall love Yahweh Conclusion: summary of
your God ... general and specific
Requirements

This is different from the previous paranetic passages: there is no focaliser, and historical references are brief. The divine nature is described comprehensively and generally, and specific injunctions are mixed. There is a pleasing symmetry about the text. So once again, the preacher hammers away at the theme of 'Yahweh is all for you' but achieves variety despite the familiar lexis. Central to the passage and its effectiveness to educate and persuade are the three great credos of the divine nature, vv14-15, 17-18, 21-22. Each focuses on a particular divine activity:

14-15 Divine power: Yahweh loved the fathers and chooses you

17-18 Divine justice: Yahweh cares for the most vulnerable

21-22 Divine salvation: Yahweh has made you a great race

vv14-15 differ from the other two in that the strong adversative rq, 'yet' implies that the action would not be expected to follow from the declaration about the divine: Yahweh is immense in his power, yet focuses on the utterly insignificant! Thus each general statement about Yahweh is followed by an illustration, and then linked to the declaration is a requirement; in (a) and (b) it follows, in (c) it precedes, echoing the introduction and emphatic with its persistently marked word order, thematising the object. The conclusion gathers all this up with a punch and a flourish: you shall therefore love Yahweh your God and keep his charge. The

distinctness of this text may have to do with the writer's use of the ancient **Near** Eastern treaty formula: here we would have something corresponding to the declaration of principle which preceded the requirements and stipulations imposed on a vassal people and which declared the goodwill of the imposing party, and the guiding principle of the treaty. Subsequent passages in chapter 11 reflect others parts of the pattern; the whole book of Deuteronomy may indeed reflect the pattern. The preacher has thoroughly naturalised it for his own use. Such a model would explain a feature present everywhere which pounds away at the audience: the use of the second person imperfect with a discourse function of obligation to such an extent that the normal imperative form is virtually ousted. Such a use of the declarative in Hebrew is characteristic of apodeictic law, and such formulations have commonly been assigned to the cultic assembly. The usage impresses upon the audience the high seriousness and urgency of the speaker's tone. These kinds of declarative in our discourses have fallen into two groups:

Law You shall observe to do
 You shall keep
 You shall circumcise
 You shall love

and 'focalisation'

 You shall remember
 You shall know

This device alone suggests a register in which the tenor is constituted by an authoritative relationship, the purpose of which is inculcation and persuasion (mode). The English versions use a variety of forms to translate (imperatives and modals), e.g. NEB/JB 'must', NIV 'are to', RSV 'shall'. In the passage just analysed, 10:12-11:1, there are eight examples: vv16, 19 (RSV imperative); 20, 1, (RSV 'shall').

7.3 THE STYLE OF EXHORTATION: RHYTHM AND BALANCE

7.3.1 Our analysis of the intersemantic relations of the exhortation passages to lay bare their structure has already touched on this aspect. We want now to subject some parts of these texts to closer analysis, to see the preacher's rhetoric at work within the body of the sermon as well as in its structure.

7.3.2 8:1-6

1. vv1-3 all end with purpose clauses of considerable variety.

v1 4 coordinated purpose clauses (finite) + relative clause.

v2 3 purpose clauses (non-finite), each dependent on

clause immediately preceding + complement clause
with clauses in apposition.

v3 1 purpose clause + 2 complement clauses.

Density of expression is achieved here by coordination of very short clauses (very characteristic), the use of manneristic relative clauses and complement clauses. The preacher achieves two things in this way: (1) inculcation by repetition of basic theological premises: (2) conciseness.

2. The two relative clauses of v1 represent a common phenomenon in this style and a number of them are highly common, in particular these two. In a language where adjectival modification is sparingly used (there is only a small stock of adjectives), the restrictive or defining relative clause is an important way of qualifying a noun: its conspicuous use in Deuteronomy gives the style weight and rhythm, although the frequent use of certain relative clauses detracts from their descriptive value, and they become principally contributions to the rhythm, and a means of dinning certain concepts into the minds of the audience. So here:

a. all the commandments which I command you this day

b. to possess the land which Yahweh swore to your fathers

(a) occurs about twenty times, and enables the preacher to use his

favourite time adjunct, 'this day' (literally 'the day' hyywm), which, in all, is found over fifty times. It is mesmerising in its use in the book as a whole, and is a means of impressing urgency on listeners: it makes the past present and relevant; not only the ancestors but contemporary Israel is confronted by Yahweh's demand, for his promise and work is for them; thus it is allied with the closely related expression 'as at this day', kyywm hzzh, e.g. v18, which stresses that a past action of Yahweh remains effective; it is essential to the writer's use of the past to help forestall the response, 'So what?!'

Deuteronomy introduces the key motif of land which collocates frequently with a small number of words, especially 'possess'; others are: live, go in, give, swear, e.g.:

live and go in and possess the land which Yahweh your God swore to give, 8:1.

The lexis defines the land as a gift from Yahweh which becomes Israel's goal and the sphere of her existence where she can remain alive. Even though the generation addressed is settled in the land, the goal remains, ostensibly presented as one achieved through physical movement, actually attained spiritually, because each generation can move towards or away from Yahweh.

3. 'know

8:3, 5 ... and he fed you with manna which you did not KNOW and
 your fathers did not KNOW in order to make you KNOW that
 ... and you shall KNOW....

These four uses of 'know', yd^c (one causative), constitute a progression from a state of ignorance to understanding through the activity of Yahweh: Israel was unwitting of the divine ability to sustain and is to learn that the hardship was a means of enlightenment and education.

This verse, 8:3, has fine balance best illustrated by writing out as verse:

and he humbled you and hungered you and fed you manna
 which you did not know
 and your fathers did not know
 in order to make you know
 that not by bread alone lives man
 but by every utterance of Yahweh's mouth lives man.

The rhythm is achieved by

- (a) coordinated verbs
- (b) coordinated relative clauses with the same negated verbs.

(c) coordinated complement clauses with marked adjuncts of manner, and repetition of subject and verb.

(d) the weightier second adjunct effects the concluding movement.

7.3.3 8:7-20

Here there is much of interest:

1. The extended description of 'land', vv7-9.

As above, it is instructive to write it out as verse.

When Yahweh your God brings you into a good land
 A land of brooks of water, of fountains and springs
 flowing forth in valleys and hills
 A land of wheat and barley and vines and fig trees
 and pomegranates
 A land of trees of oil and honey
 A land where without scarcity you will eat bread,
 where you will want nothing
 A land whose stones are iron
 and from whose hills you will dig copper.

There is a wealth of linguistic construction here: coordinated post-head nominals, a participle relative clause, relational clauses of location and of possession. They divide the passage

broadly into two halves.

vv7-8	coordinated nominals
v9	relative clauses

The abundance of the nominals is impressive and overwhelming; the relative clauses bring some restraint, being more clearly defined: they slow the pace and re-assert control over enthusiasm, and then the fulsome clause is rounded off with a shorter clause, v10, with the now familiar coordinated verbs, a trio, the last of which has a complement.

2. 8:14-16

This is a hymnic passage where the preacher is seized once again with the 'hwyl' and breaks into a rhapsody of which the participles qualified with the clitic definite article are so typical of the Psalms, e.g. Ps 103:3-5, 113:5ff.

who brought you from the land of Egypt, the house of
 slavery
who led you in the wilderness great and terrible, of
 fiery serpents and scorpions and parchedness where
 there is no water
who brought you water out of the flinty rock
who fed you manna in the wilderness
 which your fathers did not know.

The participle construction obviously effects cohesion which is further strengthened by the fact that all four participles are hiphil (causatives) and phonologically resemble one another.

hammoṣi'ʾa ka

hammolikʾa ka

hammoṣi' lʾa ka

hamma'ʾa kilʾa ka

An impressive alliteration and assonance. However, we soon come down to earth with a very well-known, timeless pedagogic device: all this hardship was designed 'to do you good'!

3. The lexis

The lexis of chapter 8, especially vv7-20, reflects both the polarity of wilderness v cultivated land, and the enthusiasm of the preacher.

added: the denizens, the hardness of its rocks, its dryness, which, within the context of the hymnic description of Yahweh's guidance and provision, underline the essentialness for Israel of his providence at that period: it thus emphasises further her dependence on him without pointing the moral explicitly as earlier. It is the description of the land which is developed in finer strokes, 8:7-10. Indicative of the ensuing detailed depictions is that each classifying term of the polarity, land/wilderness, is at its first mention qualified by an adjective, vv7a, 15a. Overall, there is a strong emphasis on sustenance; about 50 per cent of all this lexis has to do with food and drink. This is the problem focused on in the first passage. In the third it becomes another kind of problem:

v10 and you will eat and be full and bless

v12 lest when you eat and are full ...

v10 expresses the preacher's hope: that is how it should be: it is the crowning conclusion to his eloquent description of Yahweh's gift, whereas v12 entertains the dark thought that Israel will be ungrateful; thus the speaker draws a general picture of affluence going beyond bodily sustenance and leading to 'your heart be lifted up....'

Notice how the wilderness-civilisation apposition reflects the time structure of the passages: past-future. The shifting between these two poles is so characteristic of Deuteronomy for

the pedagogue cleverly poises his audience between them - this explains the frequent use in Deuteronomy of the present participle expressing an imminent future or an immediate present.

7.3.4 9:1-6

1. Contrastive Pronouns, vv1-3

v1 YOU are to pass over the Jordan this day to go in to
dispossess

v2 ... the sons of Anakim whom YOU know and of whom
YOU have heard...

v3 Know therefore this day that HE who passes over (RSV goes)
before you ... is Yahweh your God; HE will destroy them and
HE (not RSV) will subdue them before you; so you-shall drive
them out and make them perish.

The opening clause begins with an obligatory independent pronoun (participle construction) which is drawn into a contrastive² relationship by dint of (1) the emphatic use of 'you' ('tth) with 'know' and 'hear', (2) the verb 'pass over' repeated with an emphatic resumptive pronoun (literally: 'Yahweh your God HE is the one passing over'). The 'you's' of v2 contrast with the 'he's' of v3. The effect of this system of contrasts is to inculcate that

1. Israel does not pass over alone: you pass over - Yahweh passes over before you.
2. Whilst Israel has known and heard, Yahweh destroys and subdues: the result of knowing and hearing is fear and inactivity; it is Yahweh who is active.

Moreover, the verbs 'drive out' and 'make perish' with subject marked morphologically are drawn into the contrast: Israel performs the mopping-up after Yahweh's pioneering work. Her part is not emphasised.

There is a considerable diversity of modifiers in v2 for Hebrew which underline the magnitude of the foe.

nations greater and mightier
 cities great and fortified
 a people great and tall

Each noun is **qualified** by a pair of co-ordinated adjectives of which the first member is the same lexeme. A gender patterning is present:

<u>NOUN</u>	<u>ADJECTIVE</u>	
masc	masc	masc
fem	fem	fem
masc	masc	masc

2. Foregrounding of Adjuncts of Reason, 'because of' 'b'-

because of my righteousness Yahweh has brought me.... v4a,

but because of the wickedness of these nations Yahweh is

dispossessing.... v4b

not because of your righteousness and uprightness of heart are

you going.... v5a

but because of the wickedness of these nations Yahweh your

God is driving them out.... v5b

not because of your righteousness Yahweh your God is giving

you....v6.

The marked thematic position in each instance and the repetition reveal the speaker's terrified anxiety that Israel will delude herself about her moral character. (RSV captures the word-order perspective with an initial 'it-predication').

vv4 and 5 do not refute Israel's claim to be righteous, only that any claim she may have that her righteousness has motivated Yahweh to reward them by the gift of land. v6 does not balance adjuncts: it repeats the first member of the pair in vv4, 5, and uses an explanatory 'for', ky clause to comment on the topic of Israel's righteousness: 'for you are a stubborn people.'

7.3.5 10:12-11:11. Density of Expression, vv12-13

The passage begins with a longish sentence with a series of five infinitives, the first three having fairly short predicates, the last two much longer ones and the final one, has the relative clause flourish. In comparison, the echo of this introductory florid piece at v20 is short and crisp with simple predicates, and achieves its effect by marked themes (not RSV).

Yahweh your God you shall fear; him you shall serve and to him you shall cleave and by his name you shall swear.

v17 is also florid with its triad describing Yahweh in hymnic fashion, and with the last member of the triad itself internally a triad of modifiers:

God of gods and Lord of lords, the great, the mighty and the terrible God.

Present also are the habitual twofold/threefold designations of law, 10:13a, 11:1b.

2. Thematic Ordering

v14 Yet on your fathers Yahweh set his heart ...

and chose their seed ... you above all peoples

'Your fathers' in marked position comes immediately after 'the earth and all that is in it'. This includes the fathers, and it is these out of all things in heaven and earth that Yahweh notices, hence 'yet', rq. This marked theme is balanced by end-focus employing apposition: (literally).

'He chose among their seed after them, among you above all peoples', (and then a little flourish), 'as at this day'.

However, lest this remarkable choice by Yahweh turn the people's head

you shall circumcise the foreskin of your heart and your neck
you shall not stiffen any longer.

The complement theme effects a chiasmus. Another marked theme is used for contrast:

Seventy persons your fathers went down to Egypt and now
Yahweh your God has made them like the stars of heaven in
abundance

Beginning and end of sentence constitute a strong contrast, the marked theme relating to the end focus. RSV misses the contrast.

7.3.6 Summary

It is now clear how the unmistakable feel of the Deuteronomy style is generated by a small number of syntactic features: purpose clause, restrictive relative clause, dyads and triads of verbs, contrastive pronouns, thematic organisation (Hallidayan sense); these along with the tight cohesion of a small and highly repetitious vocabulary create a mesmerising, rhythmic delivery.

7.4 9:8-10:11 The Historical Narrative

7.4.1 This first-person narrative is clearly unlike the other discourses. It tells in great detail of Israel's shameful act of rebellion at the very time when Moses was receiving the law on the mountain and the subsequent annulment of the covenant and its eventual remaking. It is appended to the sermon in 9:1-6 as the supreme proof of Israel's stubbornness. It lacks the parennetic element; there is no use of the deontic imperfect to inculcate a lesson or impose a requirement, and yet it is designed to move to obedience through Moses's description of his costly dedication to both Yahweh and his people: on the point of no-return Moses' intercession and Yahweh's willingness to hear make possible the

renewal of the covenant. Although much of the usual paranesis-type lexis is absent, the manneristic style is still evident. The obsessional element is now seen in

1. the time adjunct motif of 'forty days and forty nights'
2. the anger-stubbornness theme
3. lexical repetition

Our understanding of the passage can be sharpened by the presence in Exodus 32-34 of a much longer version of the same incident. Scholarship usually considers the Deuteronomy writer to know this and to be summarising in his own way. The work of comparison is complicated by the fact that the Exodus story, 32-34, shows evidence of Deuteronomistic editing. We can at least take note of how the incident of the 'Golden Calf' was treated by two narrators, bearing in mind the brevity and different purpose of our story.

7.4.2 v8 introduces the story by setting the theme clearly before the audience: (more literally)

Even at Horeb you PROVOKED Yahweh and Yahweh was ANGRY with you enough to DESTROY you.

v7 may be regarded as the conclusion to 1-6 or a transitional

verse. Some commentators divide it between two hands. RSV innocent of all this, makes a new start at v6. I would prefer v6 to belong to 1-5 as a lesson-pointing statement. Israel's claim to righteousness is an utter delusion: Israel is stubborn. v7 then elaborates on this claim and vv8ff offer proof. This analysis then sees 9:1-6 as an introduction to the Horeb narrative, and vv6-7, as a bridge passage, uses the key lexis of the narrative: rebellious, provoke, destroy. We list this and related vocabulary (references are to chapter 9 unless otherwise indicated).

1. rebellious 24	(2) provoke 8, 18, 22
rebel 23	be angry 8, 20
stubborn 13	anger 19
stubbornness 27	fury 19
sin v 16, 18	
sin n 18, 27	
sinful 21	(3) destroy 8, 14, 19, 20, 25
evil 18	[26, 10:10]
wickedness 27	blot out 14
act corruptly 12	slay 28
turn aside 12, 16	

Only 10:1-9 is without this kind of lexis.

7.4.3 If this lexis provides the cohesion of the story, the time motif structures it. Staying close to the Hebrew:

- 9:9 and I remained on the mountain forty days and forty nights; bread I did not eat and water I did not drink.
- 9:11 and at the end of forty days and forty nights Yahweh gave me ...
- 9:18 then I lay prostrate before Yahweh as before, forty days and forty nights; bread I did not eat....
- 9:25 and I lay prostrate before Yahweh for those (Hebrew, 'the') forty days and forty nights.
- 10:10 and I stayed (or had stayed) on the mountain as at those (Hebrew, 'the') first days, forty days and forty nights.

We can then try to structure thus:

- 9:8 Introduction
- 9-10 Moses specifies the length of stay necessary to receive the tablets and the nature of the tablets.
- 11-17 This section begins with a statement of the completion of the covenant with the final handing over of the tablets and concludes with the account of the action which annuls the covenant because of the rebellion.

- 18-21 Moses comes between the folk and Yahweh to effect
 (-24) reconciliation. The section has a notice appended of
 how this rebellion was typical of Israel
- 25-29 Moses gives an account of his intercession.
- 10 1-11 The covenant is renewed.

In this account of the structure, the time adjunct begins, 9:9, and ends, 10:10, the account of the rebellion, and within the body of the narrative introduces stages in the account: the annulment, reconciliation and giving of the words of the effective intercession. The motif seems to be connected with an emphasis on the authority of Moses and the costliness of his leadership of Israel.

1. The fasting motif in the Exodus version is attached only to the last ascent of the mountain in the wake of the sin; here it is attached to the ascent for the purpose of receiving the tablets as well, 9:9 and 9:18. Effectively Moses fasts for eighty days!
2. The second occurrence of the time adjunct is the only one thematically marked and seems to mean: 'it was only after this length of stay that I received the tablets', 9:11.

3. The final occurrence, 10:10, is followed by 'and Yahweh hearkened to me that time as well', (a similar comment is found at 9:19b).

There is thus an interesting shift in the narrative in comparison with the sermons examined: there Yahweh's actions are the focus: he led, fed, etc.; here Moses's actions are the centre of interest. Grammatically we find that Yahweh is Actor of a large number of verbs there; here it is Moses. The purpose served by this shift to his authority resides in the fact that throughout the book he is the legitimate transmitter and interpreter of Yahweh's law: this story helps legitimize that office, for Moses was alone with Yahweh for considerable periods and his intercession was powerful to save.

7.4.4 The drama opens with Moses stressing the length of time and the fasting aspects of his stay on the mountain.

v9: temporal non-finite clause + main clause (report of length of stay and fast).

Only then is the information of the subordinate clause: the ascent to receive the tablets picked up. The tablets and the mountain are lexically foregrounded in the narrative by dint of frequent occurrence:

' <u>tablets</u> '	noun	14
	anaphoric reference	10

frequently qualified as 'of stone' or 'of the covenant'.

' <u>mountain</u> '	noun	10
---------------------	------	----

The tablets are material evidence of the covenant: hence their breaking by Moses signals the breaking of the covenant and their remaking the reinception of it. The mountain is palpable evidence of Yahweh's presence: in 9:10 we learn that he had spoken with the people 'out of the midst of the fire on the day of the assembly', repeated at 10:4, and throughout the mountain burned with fire, 9:15. Hence the great sin takes place with this very tangible reminder of Yahweh's nearness before the people's eyes.

Only at the end of this costly, sacrificial period does Moses receive the tablets, vll, and immediately afterwards receives the command to descend, because the folk have sinned. In Exodus 31:18 the report of the reception is followed by the narrator's account in retrospect of the rebellion: there it is explicit that it happened during the sojourn of Moses aloft; in Deuteronomy the reception and the report of the sin are dramatically related, as though it happened at the precise moment of reception. Further, in our account Moses and the audience learn of the nether happenings through Yahweh's report. Moses is told to go down quickly, urgency is added to the bidding. However, it seems Moses

is detained by an additional divine address, v13a (Hebrew 'and Yahweh said to me'), but at v14 'leave me alone' repeats the command to go down and makes it sound as if Moses is unwilling to comply at once. The verb rph can have the idea of 'desist' as in Ps 46:10. Is Moses already anticipating Yahweh's destruction of the folk and pleading on their behalf? Or we can see v13 as a subsequent reaction by Yahweh to the enormity? There is no point in Moses going down, for they deserve annihilation. At any rate, Moses removes himself. Although this account of the Golden Calf is shorter than that in Exodus, the narrator still has an eye to detail to give the story some vividness. Hence, there is a pause after the mention of Moses's descent to remind the listeners of the numinous state of the mountain under whose shadow the terrible incident had taken place and to report on the location of the tablets: 'upon', על, Moses's two hands (this detail will be commented on again shortly). This information is given in typical background form: a participle clause and a relational clause paint a strongly visual picture. Further evidence of the narrator waiting to tell a story with some liveliness comes immediately, v16, 'and I looked and beheld', w'r' whnnh: Moses now has confirmed for himself what Yahweh had reported to him, v12.

Note how Yahweh has distanced himself from the people in his report of their sin. 'Your people whom you-have brought out' and 'I have seen this people.' Elsewhere it is Yahweh himself who brings Israel out; now he dissociates himself from the event of the Exodus. Further, elsewhere in this narrative, contrary to the

other discourses, God is referred to as 'Yahweh', not 'Yahweh your God'. But only here, v16, does Moses use the latter: it is the term which describes the God who has bound himself to Israel and to whom Israel has bound herself: the sin is against Israel's very own God and the relationship he has made with her.

7.4.5 Moses's reaction to his witnessing the rebellion is to annul the covenant; 'and I took hold of the two tablets' suggests that Moses had put them down; then, as in Exodus 32:19, we are told that he casts them out of his two hands and breaks them. This picks up verbally, v15b:

v15b (the two tables of the covenant) UPON c1 my two hands

v17 (and cast them) (RSV out of) from upon mc1 my two hands

This 'took hold', tps, could mean something like: Moses tightened his grip³ on the tablets (had his witnessing of the scene made him forget they were there?) The breaking is, of course, no act of anger: 'before the eyes' indicates a solemn, legal act. (So Deuteronomy's 'took hold', if it meant 'pick up', would underline the drama of the action further.)

Now once more Moses must repeat his hardship of a forty day fast: as at first, v18. The repetition of the time and fasting motifs is accompanied by a complex adjunct of reason: Moses's hardship is occasioned by 'all your sin which you sinned in doing evil': Moses is willing to suffer for them. The preacher thus enhances

his appeal and power of persuasion. His audience are beholden to him. Then, v19, Moses reveals his own feelings using a rare word, 'I was in dread', ygrty, because of the anger and hot displeasure which Yahweh bore against you, so that he was ready to destroy you.' Here Moses reveals the criticalness of the situation, and his disclosure of his own feelings is not to reveal his humanity but to heighten the danger of Israel's plight and thus to draw attention to his own successful rôle: but Yahweh hearkened to me that time also, as on many occasions. He further underlines his authority with the mention of his successful intervention for Aaron also, a detail not found in Exodus 32. The episode ends as it began with an act of destruction, but with different significance. In Exodus 32 the destruction of the calf is associated with judgment: it is ground to powder and mixed with water to make a potion which the folk must drink (to reveal guilt presumably). Here, the episode comes after Yahweh has heard Moses favourably, and the powder is thrown into running water to be borne away: the sin is now removed and reconciliation effected. (In Exodus 32-34 the process of reconciliation is prolonged and complex). The language used to describe the calf's destruction is worth comparing with that in Exodus, for it is greatly heightened.

Exodus 32:20

And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it with fire, and ground it to powder.

Deuteronomy 9:21

and the sinful thing which you had made, the calf, I took and burned it with fire and grinding it very hard until it was fine as dust.

Deuteronomy has a complex marked theme (complement) and adds intensifiers, and so in this way the completeness of the reconciliation and the certainty of Moses's success is underlined.

7.4.6 At vv22-24 Moses gives his general judgment on the folk and the thematic lexis is to the fore: provoke, rebel, rebellious. He reminds of other acts of rebellion and says emphatically, 'rebellious you were against Yahweh ...', using participle and finite, a rare construction in classical Hebrew, underlining the continuity of the activity described by the participle.⁴

After this stepping back Moses returns to the story in hand, vv25ff, and repeats v18 as the use of the definite article (RSV 'these') shows. He is picking up the thread of the narrative but still enhancing his authority, as he continues to do, by now giving the actual intercession he used at vv18-19. This

separation of the verbatim prayer from its context enables Moses to foreground the prayer. The prayer is similar to one in Exodus 32:11ff, but there it comes immediately after Yahweh's announcement of his intention to destroy Israel = Deuteronomy 9:14. We suggested that our writer may have hinted at an attempt by Moses to forestall destruction, but he delays the account of the intercession for the reasons just given: 'I intervened so successfully that I could destroy the calf as a symbol of the removal of your sin, and these are the words by which I succeeded.' In the prayer Moses stresses that Israel is Yahweh's people: v26, 'your people and your inheritance whom you-redeemed ... whom you-brought out', cf. v12, where Moses pleads with Yahweh to change his attitude to the people. Then he shifts to the remote past, v27 (the ancestors and his promise to them), and then to the more recent past, v28, (the Egyptian Exodus). Here Moses does the opposite to what happens in the sermons: there Israel is to remember the past, here it is Yahweh who is bidden to remember. And so Moses ends as he began:

they are your people and your inheritance whom you-brought out.

Notice in this twofold appeal at v26 and v29 the use of conventional adjectives.

26 brought out ... with a mighty hand

29 brought out by your great power and your outstretched arm.

This contrasts with the bare assertion 'whom you (Moses) brought out', v12. The act of deliverance was a full investment by Yahweh of himself: it is not to be in vain. Moreover, Moses himself now identifies himself with the people: at v24 he too distanced himself: you have been rebellious... from the day that I knew you, but v28, 'lest the land from which you brought US' (not them). Note too the triads of nominals at v27 and v28, 'Abraham, Isaac and Jacob'/'the stubbornness of this people and its wickedness and its sin' contrasting the ancestors as recipients of Yahweh's promise, their descendants as possessed of undesirable qualities. This comparison may explain the distancing 'this', v27a, in a stretch of discourse which, as shown, otherwise seeks to close the gap between Yahweh and the people.

7.4.7 The narrative now brings us to the necessary final act, the remaking of the covenant, 10:1, 'At that time', i.e. after the successful intervention, Yahweh instructs Moses to make new tablets and a container for them, the ark. The narrative is concerned to stress, vv1-5, that the new tablets will be similar to the old, 'like the first', vv1, 3, and will display exactly the same words, vv2, 4. This concern is found in Exodus 34 also, Deuteronomy differing only in adding one more such reference at v4, 'as at the first writing'. Moses now goes up, 'the two tablets in my hand'. In comparison with 9:15, 17, Moses here uses only one hand, and there is a different preposition, b-. Previously cl was used, a preposition which can have the sense

of 'on', 'over', 'against'. Did Moses carry the tablets such that they were solemnly displayed as he came down the mountain in preparation for the symbolic act? Obviously, as he goes up the mountain again, no solemn gesture is required, for they are as yet blocks of hewn stone awaiting writing; and there on the mountain the tablets are inscribed as before, v4b repeating 9:10b to underline that the same words were engraven. The making of the ark is not in Exodus 32-34; indeed it is during the first forty-day stay that Moses receives instructions to pass on to skilled craftsmen that they might make the ark. v2 says explicitly that the ark was to be a container; in Exodus it is the place of the divine appearance. Moses, at v5, informs us that the very first thing he did on coming down was 'I put the tablets in the ark which I had made and they are there as Yahweh commanded'. The writer seems anxious to demythologise the ark: far from being a throne, it is a mere chest.

vv6-7 (8-9)? are the first appearance of the framework narrator since the introduction to the book (RSV uses brackets). He appears extensively after Moses finishes rehearsing the law after chapter 26. It seems an inept place for this kind of material, such that it is usually seen as a mere intrusion by a much later hand. The subject of vv6-7 is Aaron and his successor: Aaron was mentioned by Moses at 9:20 as in imminent danger of perishing. But no, he survived thanks to Moses and continued to journey with the folk for some time. He was indeed forgiven for his rôle in the calf episode (Deuteronomy's mention of Aaron at 9:20 seems to

presuppose the kind of information given us about Aaron's rôle in Exodus 32). However, he dies before seeing the land, as Moses himself will die before entering the land: Moses sees it, however, for he suffers vicariously because of the peoples' sin. Yahweh's forgiveness of Aaron, though tempered by this premature death, is complete, for he continues as priest and his son succeeds him. Thus the insertion underlines Yahweh's readiness to forgive in response to Moses's intercession.

vv8-9 may belong to this hand or continue vv1-5. In favour of the latter is the repetition of the time adjunct at v1, and the promises made for the conveyance of the ark. Container though the ark may be and not throne, nevertheless it requires consecrated bearers, for it holds the tablets; bearers to whom is entrusted also the duty of liturgical service and blessing.

Moses concludes in vv10-11 with another reference to his dedication and success, and in v11 Israel is launched once more on its great progress to the land. Does v10 refer to vv1-5 or to 9:18 = 9:25? It implies an act of intercession, of which only 9:18-20 and 25-29 are a witness. The Exodus version has several acts of intercession including one prior to the remaking of the covenant. Commentators want to harmonise here. That is undesirable: it is the evidence of this text that matters. The Hebrew has 'and I stayed', w'nky ʿmdty (**independent** pronoun). This disconnects it grammatically from the previous narrative, and allows an anterior sense, 'and I had stayed.' Moses is

underlining the meaning of the episode: Israel was not destroyed because Moses⁵ endured hardship to test Yahweh's willingness to destroy. Only because of this were you able to continue on your way. Hence v10 is a parenthesis in the story-telling and v11 resumes the tale.

7.4.8 Summary

We have here, therefore, a tightly-knit narrative with many details contributing to create a particular topic: Israel, who is stubborn, owes her continuing existence to the transmitter and interpreter of the law who dared to test Yahweh's intention to destroy. Because of this and because of Yahweh's virtual appointment of Moses, narrated elsewhere, Moses can speak to Israel with great authority as the use of the imperfect of obligation demonstrates. The effect of the narrative is achieved in foregrounded manner and by more subtle means. To the former belong:

1. the structuring device of the time adjunct
2. the lexis of 'provocation and stubbornness'
3. the use of lexical repetition

and to the latter the many interconnections in the text inviting comparison, and the cumulative effect of material verbs with Moses as subject = Actor about thirty times over against about twenty times for Yahweh (one third of these are in restrictive relative

clauses referring to prior actions, i.e. an anterior meaning for the verb's time reference). As a summary of an episode it is effective: it pursues one particular strand throughout, and though it lacks the many vivid details of Exodus 32 (especially the account of the making of the calf), it succeeds in bringing home to Israel the greater danger in which she stood because of her unfaithfulness.

7.5 Excursus: the alternation of singular and plural second person address

7.5.1 I have made no comment on the above phenomenon in the analyses, since the material would be insufficient to make worthwhile sense of it. However, I want to make some tentative remarks. Anything more requires an examination of the device in the whole book and elsewhere. The phenomena are as follows:

The second person singular/plural referring to the same audience may alternate

1. between stretches of discourse, e.g. singular in 8:1ff, plural in 9:8ff.
2. within the bounds of a single discourse, e.g. 10:12ff.
3. within the bounds of a single discourse where there may

be isolated pronouns of opposite number, indeed even within the space of a single clause, e.g. 8:1.

This phenomenon is not unknown elsewhere in ancient texts. It is, however, extensive in Deuteronomy compared with other parts of the Old Testament. Some consider source analysis accounts for some of it; others have tried a rhetorical interpretation, but neither is successful in accounting entirely for the usage. The general observation that the singular is associated with exhortation, and the plural with historical narrative is a good rule of thumb and holds in our passages:

8:1-9:7a	exhortation	singular
9:7b-29	historical narrative	plural

10:12-11:1 is an exception. It is certainly not historical narrative and contains parenesis, but it is a mixture of singular and plural:

10:12-15a	singular
15b-19	plural
20-11:1	singular

Thereafter through to the end of chapter 11 containing passages with which 10:12ff can be associated, the plural predominates but with many examples of 'island' singulars.

7.5.2 Comments

(Where Hebrew has second person singular, I have translated with 'thou.')

8:1. 'All the commandments which I command THEE this day you will observe to do in order that YOU may live' and (+ three verbs in 2nd plural),... Your fathers.

Thereafter it is 'thou' until v19. Chapter 7 is 'thou'. All I can say here is that the plural in the purpose clause picks out the individual in Israel who is to experience these benefits, i.e. that 'each of you may live and multiply'.

8:19-20. 'and it will be if THOU forget Yahweh THY God', (+ three other verbs 2nd singular), '... I solemnly warn YOU this day that YOU will indeed perish. As the nations ... before YOU, so YOU will perish because YOU ... YOUR God.'

As before, an abrupt change within a sentence. This time a warning is individualised: I warn each one of you that each of you will perish. If the community forgets Yahweh, which need not necessarily mean everyone within forgets him, nonetheless all will suffer.

9:7 'Remember (Thou) and do not (Thou) forget how Thou provoked Yahweh Thy god in the wilderness; from the day when THOU came out from Egypt until YOU came to this place; YOU

have been rebellious against Yahweh.

No obvious reason can be found here, other than lamely to say that the speaker pictures each poised to enter the land. This verse marks a transition to the provocation story, yet there is no reason to go over to the plural in so odd a place.

10:10. 'Yahweh was unwilling to destroy **THEE**.'

There has been no second person since 9:29 ('there' plural), so there is no contrastive function here.

10:15. 'but on **THY** fathers Yahweh set his heart to love them and chose their seed after them, **YOU** above all peoples.'

There is a rhetorical device at work here of general designation before specification. Perhaps the plural means: their seed after them, each one of you ... The plural continues as far as the end of v19, and the following injunction reverts to singular. The injunction of vv16-19 refers to human beings, i.e. to Israel and to the stranger. As in 10:12, so in 10:20 and 11:1, the singular is used in reference to a coordinated command: as a community you shall love Yahweh, as individuals each of you shall be obedient in heart and love the stranger.

That is as far as I can go. Some such line of approach is better than a mechanical ascription to different hands.

7.6 Overview of the Discourse Themes of 8:1-11:1

Chapter 7, outside our analysis, explores themes taken up in 8:1-11.

1. divine choice of Israel despite her insignificance, 7:6ff.
2. material blessing, 7:12ff.
3. divine aid against mighty nations, 7:17ff.

2. becomes the subject of exploration in chapter 8, 3. in chapter 9:1-6 and 1. in 10:12ff.

In 8:1-6, 7-20, the preacher fears that Israel, when she experiences material blessing, will (1) forget the lesson of the wilderness, her dependence ultimately on Yahweh and (2) ascribe her affluence to her own efforts. In 9:1-7, the fear is that Israel will misunderstand her coming into possession of the land at others' expense and attribute it to moral superiority. Thus 8:1-9:6 show a progressive heightening of the preacher's fear: Israel's progressive self-exaltation.

Israel forgets her ultimate dependence on Yahweh.

Israel becomes proud about her alleged material success.

Israel becomes proud about her alleged righteousness.

It is at that point the preacher hits Israel hard with the story of the calf, her moment of supreme shame. Remembrance and self-knowledge can best guard against the realisation of the ultimate fear. Then the preacher turns away from that dark episode to remind Israel of the greatness of Yahweh and of the appropriate response to him, 10:12ff. Here once again the theme of the divine choice is taken up, and it is developed beyond 7:7: the choice is motivated not by numbers - you were insignificant numerically - indeed the choice was not even motivated by moral deservingness and merit - you were stubborn to the point of coming within an ace of annihilation. 10:16 picks up the provocation story and calls for moral conversion. It is the greatness and generosity of Yahweh which motivates the election of Israel, 10:14, 18.

7.7 Conclusion

7.7.1 We can now make our final comments about the Deuteronomer's persuasive rhetoric by summarizing the stylistic devices he employs, which we shall relate to the three socio-semantic metafunctions: textual, interpersonal and ideational.

7.7.2 The chief text-making device of the Deuteronomer, both grammatically and lexically at textual level, is repetition: grammatically there are the use of the relative clause

(restrictive)) of which there are many examples of a small number of stereotypes throughout the book, e.g., 'the land which'; the constant employment of the categorical second person imperfect form; and the purpose clause (finite and non-finite). Lexically we find the exploitation of a small core vocabulary containing key concepts (e.g. land, oath, give, commandments) as well as local repetition as in chapter 9, 'mountain', 'tablet'. To the device of repetition we should add the phenomenon of lexical density: the occasional occurrence of stretches of narrative with a large number of nouns or verbs, e.g. 8:7ff, 12-13. Though 8:7ff is exceptional in density, coordination up to the triad is common. It is all these devices aforementioned which help create the characteristic rhythm of Deuteronomy's prose: it is the balanced prose of the public orator.

7.7.3 We have already mentioned a key device at interpersonal level, the second person imperfect functioning as a categorical directive and reinforced by the less frequent use of the imperative mood. This defines the relationship between speaker and audience: it is an authoritative tone that we hear but one bent on educating rather than coercion. Hence the use of the 'history lesson'. The speaker clearly envisages a three-way relationship comprising speaker, God and Israel. God is constantly referred to chiefly as 'Yahweh your God' and characterised by the relative clause or other forms of modification as the God of redemption and of immense and unfathomable greatness; Israel is forever reminded that she is stubborn and perverse. Thus the second person

imperfect and imperative din into Israel what she should be and should do, whilst focalisers, 'remember', and 'know' similarly seek to concentrate her attention on what in the speaker's mind matters supremely. The speaker himself is always present: obviously so in the first-person narratives where he emerges as Actor semantically, and in the exhortation sections all the stylistic characteristics of the style betray his presence. We noted how the first-person narrative establishes the authority with which he speaks everywhere else. Thus we see how the textual and interpersonal levels are foregrounded.

7.7.4 The ideational metafunction is not quite so to the fore. Description is achieved very occasionally by an unusual density of adjectives for Hebrew and most characteristically by the manneristic defining relative clause. Adjuncts of various kinds may become prominent, e.g. adjuncts of reason, 9:4ff, and especially the adjuncts of time, locally as in 9:9ff, and globally in the work as a whole: 'this day'. The speaker's point of reference in time is poised between the past of the wilderness era and the future of life in the land promised to the forefathers. The time adjuncts 'this day' and 'as at this day' define the point, and the frequent use of the present participle also locates it: it seems lame to translate with a future, e.g. 9:1, 'you will pass over the Jordan this day'; something like 'you are about to...' catches the urgency of the speaker's tone, who sees Israel on a threshold and in the presence of an imminent event of immense importance for her destiny. If the work belongs to the

seventh or eighth century, then the compiler is skillfully using a tradition to impress the urgency of decision upon his listeners. It is here that the ideational level makes its key contribution through the time circumstantials. In material whose register is clearly the text of persuasion, it is no surprise, however, that tenor and mode rather than field are to the fore.

CHAPTER 7

FOOTNOTES

1. For research on the functions of the independent pronouns to foreground and contrast etc., see Muraoka (Ib 1985, pp. 47-59).

2. See footnote 1. above.

3. Jastrow (Ib 1950) has some citations under tps' with a similar rendering :

hyh msh twpsn Moses held fast on them.

(Y Taan, IV, 68c.)

hyh slmh twps pyw Solomon controlled his mouth.

(Ex. R. s 15 : 20)

4. For hyh + participle, see S R Driver (Ib 1892, pp. 198-199).

5. See Givón (Ib 1977, pp. 238-239) for the marked topicalisation function of the independent pronouns.

CHAPTER 8

THE PERSUASION OF THE PROPHET (a)

the nature of prophetic discourse

ISAIAH 1

PREFACE TO CHAPTER 8

In this, the first of the two prophetic texts, there will be a twin focus. I shall first of all examine the nature of prophetic discourse generally and then look at the 'verbal art' of the oracles and highlight how strongly cohesive they can be, individually and collectively. As with Deuteronomy, it is the textual and interpersonal metafunctions which are to the fore.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

By the very nature of their origin and growth, prophetic books are usually complex textually: oracles will seldom be arranged chronologically, and their original setting may be quite opaque; a tradition or school of interpretation may develop and re-apply the oracles, so that a book can grow by accretions and undergo several stages of editing, such that in its final form it may be more a witness to a particular tradition than to a specific prophet. The Book of Isaiah is indeed complex and must have a history spanning several centuries. For a long time now it has been seen as comprising three major collections, 1-39, 40-55, 56-66, with only the middle one having a fair degree of homogeneity. In recent years a tendency has developed, while still accepting the traditional source analysis, to treat the work as a unity¹. This has highlighted all kinds of interconnections, a few of which will be noted in the course of the 'Isaiah' analyses. The chosen text, Isaiah 1, is commonly seen as a number of discrete units brought together to furnish a preface for the book. I shall attempt to read it as having an integrity willed by an 'editor'. This does not mean that individual oracles in chapter 1 have been so dovetailed as to obliterate a possible discreteness in origin, only that an editor-theologian perceived interconnections, and in some instances may have enhanced them or even have created them himself.

8.2 STRUCTURE

8.2.1 The RSV marks off the individual units. Superficially we can pick out the following structural indicators:

v1 Superscription (characteristic of the prophecy genre).

vv2-3 General Indictment (with stereotyped imperatives demanding attention, v2a).

v4 A hoy/woe invective.

vv5-8 First Direct Address of the Indicted (describing their condition metaphorically and literally).

v9 A Response by Survivors to the Disaster

vv10-17 Insufficiency of Sacrifice (with introduction similar to v2a).

vv18-20 A Divine Call to Confer (concluding 'for the mouth of Yahweh has spoken').

vv21-23 A Lament over Zion

vv24-28 The Divine Response to Zion's Decline (introduced by an elaborate messenger formula, v24a).

vv29-31 Attack on Idolatrous Practices

8.2.2 The above does not reveal the shifts in grammatical person. The table below displays these.

TABLE 8.1: SPEECH FUNCTION

VERSE	SPEAKER	EXPLI- CIT 1st PERS	ADDRESSEE/ REFERENT	PERSON (grammatical)	TOPIC/FUNCTION
1	editor		Prophet	3rd sing	Attribution, dating & content
2a	Prophet		Heavens & earth	2nd pl	Attention-getter
2b-3	Yahweh	1st sing	Israel		Charge of rebell- ion
4	Prophet		Israel	3rd pl	Definition of rebellion
5-8	Prophet		Israel	2nd pl	Consequences of rebellion: condit- ion of the nation
9	survivors/ editor/ prophet	1st pl			Comment on catas- trophe of vv7-8
10	Prophet		rulers/ peoples	2nd pl	Attention-getter
11-17	Yahweh	1st sing	"	2nd pl	Instruction on sacrifice
18-20	Yahweh	1st pl incl	"	2nd pl	Conditional offer and threat

21	Prophet		Zion	3rd sing fem	Decline of the city
22-23	Prophet		Zion	2nd sing fem	Evidence for decline
24a	Prophet		Yahweh		Messenger formula
24b-26	Yahweh	1st sing	Zion	2nd sing fem	Divine response and plan
27-28	Prophet	"	Zion	2nd sing/ fem	Summary
29-31	Prophet		rebels & sinners in Zion	3rd pl→ 2nd pl	Punishment for idolatry

Comments

1. Speaker: The frequent alternation of prophet and Yahweh is characteristic of this genre. Yahweh's speeches are introduced by the customary messenger formula, vv10, 24, and this authenticates and gives immediacy to the message. There is uncertainty, vv27-31, as to the speaker, as well as at v9.
2. Explicit 1st Person: At four places Yahweh uses the first person, the prophet never. One of these, v18, is purely instrumental to involving the interlocutors (inclusive command). The other three are in speeches with a strong emotional tone, i.e. the explicit use of the first person in all the divine speeches is a kind of modality expressing the divine anger and earnestness as offended party. The identity of the lone 'we', v9, will need to be examined later.

3. Addressee/Referent: The vocatives, 'heavens', 'earth', give the prologue a universal setting within which the charge against Israel is enunciated. At v10 individualisation occurs and thereafter the subject narrows down to or homes in on Zion. It is not clear at the end whether we are to understand the addressees to be the inhabitants of Zion or of Israel generally. Probably the former in view of vv27-28.
4. Person: This column reveals how the prologue moves between address of Israel and reference to Israel. Just as the Israel section is introduced with a third person account, v4, so likewise the Zion section, v21.

8.2.3 What we need is to find a way of doing full justice to the integrity of prophetic discourse other than simply naming its parts and demonstrating its lexico-grammatical cohesion, and hence thematic coherence. With narrative or verse there is a wealth of inherited experience and methodology. But what kind of discourse is prophetic discourse? Perhaps the only obvious comparison at first sight by virtue of the strident tone and frequent tirades is with the political broadside with its denunciation of opponents and frequent quoting of an authoritative source. Before I press this question further, let us display the sub-units of prophetic genre which make up the chapter. In fact, none of them are unique to prophecy, which probably goes for all prophetic oracles: they are existing forms from their contemporary culture which the prophet uses, exploits and modifies. Here we have the not uncommon

variety, in this case afforded by judicial, cultic and lament forms. In the following Table I accept Westermann's analysis of the prophetic Judgment against the Nation (JN) form (elsewhere often called Reproach-Threat oracle) with its binary constitution of Accusation + Development = REASON (A), and Intervention + Results of Intervention = ANNOUNCEMENT OF JUDGMENT (B) (III Westermann 1967).

2-3 Accusation with Development, JN (A).

4 Woe/hoy Accusation with Development, JN (A).

5-8 (Difficult to classify) 'smitten' presupposes an unrecorded Announcement of Judgment and 'still' indicates a continuing divine intervention. The Accusation of filial rebellion does imply a possible punishment (of flogging?). It is not un-lament-like.

10-17 Defines itself as word of Yahweh and torah of our God: instruction on sacrifice. Embedded within it is a JN at v15 (with parts reversed), 15a,b, Announcement of Judgment: 'I will hide ... I will not listen'; 15c, Accusation: 'your hands are full of blood'. The instruction, vv16-17, is both negative and positive: not that way but this way.

18-20 Legal Procedure requiring indicted to appear/or
Disputation, and concluding with a conditional offer.

21-26 JN: vv21-23, Accusation with Development in form of
Lament and Intervention, v24, and Result, vv25-26. The
woe/hoy unusually introduces the Announcement, not the
Accusation.

27-31 Result of Divine Intervention.

The nearest to a straightforward JN is vv21-26. Otherwise we have what are traditionally called Reproach oracles, or accusations, some to type, vv2-3, v4, others less so: vv10-17, vv18-20, but, nonetheless, all making an accusation. Some have wanted to cast the chapter into a legal procedure framework (in view of v2 and v18), but apart from want of a detailed account elsewhere of such procedures, this is to force the material into a rigid mould, which the sheer variety defies. It is not clear whether vv2-3 should be seen first as a legal form or as a Lament. v2a suggests the former; the comparison with ox and ass and the designation, my people (not this people) introduces a note of pathos and suggests the lament. The ambiguity surely sets the tone of the chapter and of the book: lament and formal indictment coexist, a coexistence derived from the concept of my people: Israel, a people, whom Yahweh makes his own, to whom he is generous and from whom he hopes for a fitting response; here is a personal investment on the part of Yahweh who can only lament the failure

of his people whilst recognising that they do have a charge to answer. It is thus not surprising that after the judgment Yahweh calls for someone to bring a message of hope to Israel, 'Comfort, comfort my people, says your God, speak to the heart of Jerusalem ...'. 40:1 (Hosea, 11:8, captures a similar tension in the choice constituted by love and justice). Lament appears again explicitly at v21 ('ykh , 'how', frequently introducing a lament), and it is possible that this tone has continued through vv4-8; certainly the imagery of vv5-6 and v8, and the sombre description of v7 are strongly pathetic. This piling up of lament-like accusations or reproaches, which far outweigh the threat part of the oracle form (explicitly only vv24-26, 29-31), characterizes the chapter and constitutes the compiler's originality with the JN form.

8.2.4 I want now to try and probe the overall discourse structure using Hoey's techniques. It seems to me that it is wrong to think of this preface simply as a loose collection of oracles of different forms. We should expect them to constitute a discourse with some degree of integrity and coherence, i.e. in some sense they do unite to form one oracle (in this respect the legal procedure interpreters are on the right track, but presuppose the chapter conforms to some extent to an existing form).

8.2.4.1 Hoey (Ia 1983) offers a schema for probing the intersemantic relationships of a piece of discourse which is not unlike Prince's definition of the minimal story. Using the story-line of I Samuel 1-2:

	HOEY	PRINCE
There was a man who had an unhappy wife.	<u>SITUATION</u>	}
She was childless.	<u>PROBLEM</u>	} Stative
She prayed to Yahweh	<u>RESPONSE</u>	}
and Yahweh gave her a child.	<u>RESULT</u>	} Active [then..]
She is now content. ²	<u>EVALUATION</u>	} Stative [so...]

Hoey applies his schema to discourse other than narrative as well and also offers other schemata. This one seems most apt for our text; all the elements identified by Hoey are to be found in the resulting arrangement of the oracles as well as within the classical oracle form itself. Although the schema is rather loose-fitting, it can be useful to highlight the intersemantic difficulties of a stretch of writing. It should be noted that situation/problem and result/evaluation respectively may not be separately present. Further, the 'evaluation' of one part of the discourse can constitute the new 'situation' of a succeeding piece of discourse.

8.2.4.2 The judgment form fits Hoey's Problem-Solution schema like this:

<u>Situation</u>	Yahweh-Israel relationship
<u>Problem</u>	<u>Accusation</u>
<u>Response</u>	<u>Announcement of Intervention</u>
<u>Result</u>	<u>Result of Intervention</u>
<u>Evaluation</u>	(Repentance or obduracy)

Let us see if the schema reveals the originality of chapter 1 and its intra-discoursal relations.

a.	<u>Situation</u>	2b α ,	Sons have I reared ...
	<u>Problem</u>	2b β	they have rebelled against me
	<u>Response</u>	{	why will you be SMITTEN
		{5a α	STILL,
	<u>Result</u>	{	
b.	<u>Evaluation</u>	5a β	continue to rebel?
	<u>Situation</u>	5b-8	the whole head is sick .. your country is desolate
	<u>Problem</u>	(9)-14	If Yahweh of hosts ... bearing them
	<u>Response</u>	15-20	when you spread ... has spoken
c.	<u>Result</u>	}	
		}	21 how the faithful city
	<u>Evaluation</u>	}	
	<u>ion</u>		
	<u>Situation</u>	21	
	<u>Problem</u>	22-23	your silver ... come to them
	<u>Response</u>	24	}
Predicted	<u>Result</u>	25-26a \rightarrow 27-31	}
	<u>Evaluation</u>	26b	}
			Therefore

What this probing does is to reveal the complexity of the structure of chapter 1 and it suggests that it cannot be made to conform to neat schemata; that is not to say, however, it is a

mere ragbag of unrelated material: it does not read in a disjointed way, and there is a sufficiency of lexical cohesion. Commenting on the analysis:

1. None of the proposed Situation-Evaluation structures above is perfect. In b/c we are dealing with forecasts, and in a. the description of the state of the country presupposes an unrecorded response (the son is flogged or stricken (with leprosy?)).
2. We could structure all of it as one Situation-Evaluation:

<u>Situation</u>	2a	
<u>Problem</u>	2b-14	{presupposes failure of { {earlier response
<u>Response</u>	15-24	Accusation Announcement
<u>Result</u>	25-26 → 29-31	Result
<u>Evaluation</u>	27-28	

This would, using Westermann's terminology, produce complex Accusation and Announcement of Judgment entities. The response section now comprises a great variety.

threat v15, v24b.

instruction/exhortation vv16-17.

sarcasm (one possible interpretation) v18.

conditional offer vv19-20

lamentation vv21-24

v24 with its conspicuous weighty messenger formula marks a climax in the divine response, since all the previous ones have failed: Zion herself will not be spared, though God may have left her intact, v9. There is thus a climaxing after much impassioned persuasion by Yahweh, and it is an awful announcement, for Zion the holy city, the divine dwelling-place, will not remain untouched. Here is a homing-in on Zion which enables the editor-theologian to underline the major theme of the book: Yahweh's deeply offended holiness cannot indefinitely tolerate Israel's rebellion; 'strange is his deed. alien is his work', Isaiah 28:21b. But shocking as the revelation of this divine intention is, there is amelioration in the promise of a cleansed city (see Isaiah 4:2-6; 2:1-4). This leaves the acknowledged afterthought, vv29-31. Hitherto rebellion, v2, is interpreted ethically; here idolatry is mentioned for the first time. However, this has been adumbrated, v4b, especially 'they have forsaken Yahweh', and rather than an afterthought it stresses the extent of the people's alienation mentioned in v4b: It is not cultic abuse nor wilful disregard of Yahweh's commandments alone; it is a complete abandoning of Yahweh for other gods.

8.3 THE COMPLEXITY AND PROBLEMATIC OF PROPHETIC DISCOURSE

8.3.1 Prophetic texts are a complex of voices: narrator, prophet, deity, audience and unidentifiable voices, e.g. Isaiah

40:1ff. A story, of course, can be a similar complex of voices: author, narrator, characters et al., but unless a story is bracketed by the sign 'historical writing', we do not understand all it contains to be averred by someone as true. As such, our evaluation of the historical narrative and the fictional story is different, for the latter does not invite constant evaluation of all it reports. Now, we do have prophetic matter explicitly written up as story, e.g. the narrative of Elijah and Elisha in the Books of Kings. We may or may not see this narrative as historical story-writing depending on the bracket which we wish to put around 'Kings'. Nevertheless, we can read these stories as both edifying and entertaining. However, the oracular-type prophetic discourse which we are examining here is hardly story; it may be edifying but certainly not entertaining. (On the other hand, the Book of Jeremiah hovers between our present discourse and the Elijah/Elisha narrative). Oracular prophetic discourse does invite evaluation by its reader, albeit in very limited fashion: unquestioning affirmation. It seems to be primarily a way of enabling a historically addressed community to understand itself in time. The community has a responsibility for the conditions of the present because of past irresponsibility. All that has happened is, however, within the control of its god. These discourses must have served some such rôle. This function becomes more problematic, when they are given an extended rôle in time right down to the 20th century. One common way of saving them is to make them prognostic, a programme of future events slowly unfolding through the centuries. Thus when we ask: what

is the nature of prophetic discourse?, it may be that we cannot give one answer; it was one thing for those who heard it in the 8th century, another for those who compiled the collections of oracles and read or heard them read, etc.

8.3.2 In prophetic texts we assume that the editor avers or confirms what he reports; he does not desist from evaluation. This assumption for chapter 1 is not made, therefore, on the basis of the presence of the introduction at v1, which could just as well introduce a fictional work. What we find in the chapter is a complex of report with quote and subquote. Using Sinclair³:

v1 I the EDITOR aver to you that (this is)
 the vision [prospective meta-reference] ... Judah
 [Report]

v2a I the EDITOR aver to you that Isaiah the prophet says
 I (Isaiah) aver to you that I say [Quote]

vv2b-3 I the EDITOR aver to you that Isaiah says
 I aver to you that Yahweh says

I (Yahweh) aver to you that I say [subquote]³

I have put report/quote-introducing verbs in the simple present rather than the past ('say' not 'said'), because it seems that this is how the discourse is meant to function; as in fictional

narrative they are pseudointeractive; here the discourse is addressed not primarily to a past audience, but is aimed at a contemporary one. What especially re-activates the reporting plane as interactive is the substantial use of quotation, and within the quotes and subquotes the imperatives and interrogatives. Notice the judiciously-used meta-references to reinforce the prophet's claim to transmit the divine word: word of Yahweh v10, saying of the Lord, Yahweh of hosts, v24 (RSV 'the Lord says' etc). These help to re-activate, since what was once a divine utterance remains one. Now, quotation, be it from a fictional or non-fictional speaker, is considered to be the words of the quoted person unless narrator/author are known to be unreliable. The quoting of divine speech is highly problematic, hence the meta-references which anticipate an audience's 'How do you know?' But it is also problematic because of the editor's relationship to his material. Normally, an editor will be understood to aver utterances he reports or quotes but not necessarily to agree with them: by the very nature of prophetic discourse we have to understand the editor of a collection of oracles to both aver the utterances and the truth of them. Yet this twofold relationship to the oracles is not as simple as that: editors are clearly not merely collectors of oracles. They could and did disagree with the tenor of prophetic utterances and so arranged them to soften or even eliminate unacceptable view-points. Thus we cannot be certain how the historical Isaiah related threat and promise. Were they intertwined as now? Some consider this psychologically and theologically improbable.

8.3.3 In addition to Sinclair's distinction between interactive and autonomous (e.g. report) discourse we can adduce Halliday's distinction between linguistic material which is a result of expansion (a primary clause which is elaborated, extended or enhanced by a secondary clause) and projection where the additional clause represents not new linguistic experience as in elaboration, but a linguistic representation itself (Ia Halliday 1985b, pp. 192-251). Under 'projection' Halliday includes quotation, report and fact. The important property at grammatical level of quotation is that it is free of its context as can be seen by the indifference of its tense and deixis to its environment. The function of the projecting clause is primarily to attest that the projected wording was indeed spoken. It does not vouch for the truth of the content. Hence one can ask of a quotation: 'Was this really said?' rather than 'Is this true?' Much of a prophetic book is projected wording: quotation. The typical projecting clauses which usually introduce it but sometimes follow or are even interpolated, as stated previously, vouch for the divine origin of the words, but, unlike other projecting formulae, in the sacred writings they vouch for the truth of the meaning as well as the wording. If indeed God spoke these words, they must ipso facto be true. Thus the projected words, though independent grammatically of their environment and vouched for by it, at discourse level may be very much dependent on it and controlled by it. This phenomenon of the linguistic representation of linguistic material is fascinating, especially

in its quotation form as here, since it is the intrusion of one discourse into another discourse, which sets up an interesting relationship. In the prophetic books the intruding discourse is controlled by the first discourse, though there is clearly scope for later readers to alter this balance.

Quotation is controlled in a prophetic book by

1. the prose framework
2. the rationale behind the ordering of the oracles
3. the projecting clauses
4. the concept of the 'prophetic book'

The complex of Isaianic oracles is in the superscription factualised as 'the vision ... which he saw'. The vision is dated, which might seem to militate against the autonomous plane, on which the oracles will be reported, becoming pseudo-interactive: they were meant for a historical audience. However, since dating of individual oracles or groups of oracles is not common (there is no dating at all in chapters 40-66), their historical moment can be lost sight of. This aids and abets the feeling that the addressees are timeless. Thus a reader can re-activate the speeches as interactive whilst overlooking the historical framework. The controlling factor is predominantly

monologic and authoritative; it suppresses all other voices, and therefore does not usually invite a reader to be critical, to engage in dialogue. Hence the importance of the well-known messenger formula. Originally interactive, it now functions as a kind of self-reference or metastatement which evaluates the quotation into which it is interpolated, e.g. v11, or which it introduces, v24, or concludes, v20; it effects the highest degree of averment. In fact, if we assume that Genesis 32:3-4 represents the original secular context of the messenger formula, then the procedure on the autonomous plane is even more complicated than an editor quoting a prophet quoting Yahweh. The messenger formula implies not that a prophet overheard a divine speech given to the heavenly council but was personally commissioned and instructed to deliver the oracle. Using Genesis 32:3-4 as a grid

and Yahweh sent Isaiah before him to Israel instructing him

 'thus you shall say to Israel

 thus says Yahweh

 "oracle"

 and Isaiah went and said}

 } prophetic book:

 'thus says Yahweh } narrator's averment

 }

 "oracle" }

8.4 THE VERBAL ARTISTRY OF THE PROPHETIC UTTERANCE

8.4.1 General Overview of Lexis

The passage as a whole evinces lexis typical of the prophetic oracle.

1. Religious/ethical/judicial, e.g. rebel (verb and noun), sin, do good, plead, defend.
2. Relational, e.g. sons, rear, forsake.
3. Destruction, e.g. devour, smite, overthrow.
4. Purification, e.g. wash, cleanse, smelt

and there are also clusters of a particular lexis: disease, vv4-6; technical vocabulary of sacrifice, vv11-14; combustion, v31.

Much of the lexis is negative in value, reflecting the emphasis of chapter 1 on the nation's condition and its merited punishment.

The Religious/ethical/judicial is quite comprehensive and utilises verbs and nouns, the latter distributed between abstract and agentive. The lexis of destruction and purification is linked by the mediatory lexis of smelting, a violent purificatory process with the semes of heat collocating with the 'burn' subgroup and of dirt-removal with 'wash', etc. The repetition of 'justice' and 'righteousness' is common. The repetition of 'rebel' verb (three times) and 'rebel' noun (twice) points to the leitmotif of chapter 1, and this vocabulary is distributed, vv2, 5, 20, 23, 28, around

the beginning and end.

8.4.2 Crescendos [vv3; 4; 8] illustrate an important rhetorical device.

8.4.2.1 v3 ox → ass → Israel, my people.

This starts with an animal with some degree of intelligence, pliability and reliableness, progresses to a beast renowned for obstinacy and selfwill (and perhaps stupidity) and concludes with Israel declared to be in a state of sheer ignorance, and within the context of the progression, to be seen as the ultimate in stubbornness and stupidity. The paradigmatic principle of the verse structure forces the reader to compare and perceive the similarity and the difference: Israel is compared with beasts of burden, and unfavourably, for though she is different, it is to her discredit. There is a strong pathos here rather than a ridiculing: 'sons' or 'children' sounds the affective, relational note, and the 'my' of 'my people' echoes and heightens it. Thematic positioning also emphasises these and related terms:

2. sons have I reared and brought up and THEY (i.e. it is they who) have rebelled against me.
3. knows the ox its owner and the ass its master's crib.
Israel does not know.
my people does not show itself attentive.

We probably have three couplets of trimeters here with the two negatives bearing stress and so expressing surprise, as does the emphatic pronoun 'they', hm: rebellion is not expected of a son, nor should want of knowledge be found in Israel of all peoples. The verbs of v3 are process:mental with a patient-like subject: the animals recognise when stimulated, but not Israel. Additionally, Israel/my people are subjects of verbs used absolutely (without 'phenomenon'), i.e. Israel does not know at all, knows nothing whatsoever. RSV 'understood' could be replaced by the translation above (Hebrew byn: hithpael) implying that Israel shows no evidence whatever of recognition.

The detailed account of this unit evidences the skill inherent in many of the prophetic oracles, and this one is clearly a tour de force to open the book, and strikes a devastating blow.

8.4.2.2 v4 sinful nation → people laden with iniquity → offspring of evildoers → sons who deal corruptly

There seems here to be a progression in the nouns from technical to relational, from distancing to intimacy vis-à-vis Yahweh, which effects a surprise, as in the previous verse: a sinful NATION, yes, but corrupt SONS, no!

8.4.2.3 v8

the daughter of Zion is left
 like a booth in a vineyard
 like a lodge in a cucumber field
 like a besieged (watched) city

This comes in a stretch which foregrounds comparison 'like', k, vv7b-9 (six times). The progression is not so easy to grasp here, and one cannot be too sure of the precise effect of the images. A booth in a vineyard is obviously quite humble, but the vineyard is a place associated with festivity and promise; the 'cucumber' image will strike some contemporary readers as a mocking picture (recollections of ramshackle sheds in untidy allotments!). And 'besieged' (if this is the right translation) seems a lame finale. The ensuing passage states that this is precisely what the city is. It may, of course, imply that the prophet is lost for the most apposite words: Zion is like all of these things, but her pathetic situation is still not described adequately. If we give the comparison full force without reference to an ongoing siege, we can link the passage to 22:1-4 which records the prophet's anguish at the people celebrating a Pyrrhic victory: you think you have won the day, yet here is Zion like a booth/a lodge, still for all intents and purposes a besieged city! Pathos → ridicule → brute reality.

8.4.2.4 vv11-15 What to me is the multitude of your
sacrifices...

Here a crescendo in the divine response to the survivors' feverish cultic activity is achieved by a host of expressions evincing Yahweh's disgust and climaxing in the terrible threat of divine blindness and deafness to their entreaties.

v11 What to me is the multitude of your sacrifices

I have had enough of ...

I do not delight in ...

12 Who requires of you this trampling of my courts?

13 You shall not bring (RSV 'Bring no more') vain offerings

Incense is an abomination to me

I cannot endure

14 ... my soul hates

they have become a burden

I am weary of bearing them

15 I will hide my eyes

I will not listen

There is a remarkable variety of expression here, and of a modal nature, foregrounding the interpersonal metafunction. The outburst against all forms of sacrifice - the list is sufficiently comprehensive - reaches a head in the emphatic 'I will not listen', 'yunny šm^c'. There is irony in the whole passage being designated 'the teaching of our God', twrt 'lhynw. Torah can

describe priestly instruction, e.g. with reference to sacrifice; Yahweh's instruction overthrows all such instruction.

8.4.3 THE MULTI LEVELLED CONSTRUCTION OF IMAGERY

8.4.3.1 vv5-6: The Image of the Diseased or Punished Body

The lexis is limited to the body: parts and lesions

v5	head }	whole body/person (merismus by use of
	} =	
	heart}	key terms)
v6	sole of foot }	whole body (merismus by the lexis
	} =	
	head }	of extreme extent).

This twinning of words yields subsequently to triads, v6b, which likewise underline the extent of the situation. The three successive negative particles (RSV obscures them):

<u>l' zrw</u>	they are not pressed out
<u>wl' ḥbbšw</u>	and they are not bound up
<u>wl' rkkkh bšmn</u>	and they are not softened with oil

should all receive a stress (despite MT) and echo the universal quantifier, v5b, 'the whole'. kl, in once again heightening the description. Just as in the opening indictment, the linking of rebellion and sonship evaluated rebellion as unnatural, so here rebellion is linked with a smitten state, v5a, and exposed as

sickness of body.

8.4.3.2 vv7-10: The Sodom-Gomorrah Imagery

v7c it is desolate, like the overthrow of aliens ...

9b we should have been like Sodom

and become like Gomorrah

10a Hear the word of Yahweh

rulers of Sodom

10b give ear to the teaching of our God

people of Gomorrah

In v7 'aliens', zrym, is sometimes emended to 'Sodom', sdm (not impossible with the Hebrew consonants), since the noun 'overthrow', mhpkh, is elsewhere only used of Sodom's downfall. In this case the interrelations of vv7-10 are: the prophet laments that the state of the country is comparable to Sodom's fate, but at v9 (where it would have to be the survivors speaking), this is denied: the catastrophe falls short of the proverbial one; whilst Zion is intact they can still hope to recover; then, v10, the prophet roundly contradicts this optimistic appraisal: 'you are Sodom'. However, it is best to leave the text unemended and to see a cunning rhetoric at work.

(your land) is desolate like the overthrow of [expected]

→ Sodom [frustrated expectation] → aliens.

Now Sodom would have two associations: complete, annihilating destruction and sheer wickedness. Thus the frustration is a relief, for Zion's fate is pronounced neither to be hopeless nor her wickedness to be comparable to Sodom's. The survivors' comment at v9 thus expresses strong relief by mentioning what was suppressed at v7, 'like Sodom'. Then the text rounds on this declaration and declares that rulers and people constitute a new Sodom and Gomorrah. This simultaneously redresses the linguistic frustration (unexpected collocation) of v7, and overthrows the foregrounded series of comparisons beginning with v7: not 'like', but 'are'.

like the overthrow of aliens

like a booth ...

like a lodge

like a besieged city

like Sodom

like **Gomorrah**

∅ rulers of Sodom

∅ people of Gomorrah

8.4.3.3 vv18-20: an Example of Complex Patterning

18	if (they-) be	your sins	like scarlet	
	1		2	
	like snow		let-them-be-white	5
	3			
	if they-are-red		like crimson	
	4			
	like wool		let-them-be	5

2. repetition 'be', hyh (plus similar
grammatical forms yhyw)
'eat/devour', 'kl.

Chiasmus operates at all the levels in v18. This constituency chiasmus is strengthened by the verb forms qal-hiphil and by alliteration (k) in the prepositional phrases.

- a. verb - subj + PP (like scarlet)
- b. PP (like snow) + verb
- a. verb + PP (like crimson)
- b. PP (like wool) + verb

In contrast vv19-20 have a simple parallel structure.

- 19 a. verb + verb b. noun + verb
- 20 a. verb + verb b. noun + verb

There are problems in translating v18 since the form yhyw may be rendered as a declarative or jussive (and some suggest the clause could be a question). All of these are consonant with a sarcasm or a non-sarcasm interpretation:

imperatives thereafter make the ethical explicit. Thus in retrospect 'full of blood' is seen as hands stained with crime. The red imagery of vv18-19 picks up the colour aspect of v15 and keeps the ethical interpretation. The images are ones of radical transformation: deepest red to purest white, so that they deepen our understanding of the exhortation, vv16-17, and raise the question of how such a cleansing is possible. The answer to this is delayed awhile, for v22 introduces imagery of adulteration and impurity. As at vv16b-17, v23 is juxtaposed as a literal statement. Then v25 addresses a shift from washing away impurity to burning it away with heat and chemical. The lye, however, maintains a direct connection with 'wash' (it could be used as soap). So the question at vv16-17 and vv18-20 'How?' is answered: 'by a painful, divine intervention'. At v31 the negative side of smelting is picked up (v26 had illustrated the positive aspect): destruction of what is impure and useless. The want of a means to quench links to the otherwise seemingly, sui generis image of the tree and the garden: there the tree withers for lack of water in the garden, here the destruction of fire proceeds unhindered without water to resist.

8.4.4 None of the imagery in chapter 1 can be described as original: what makes it effective is the skilled use, revealed in the foregoing analysis, of the various linguistic levels and of the macro-coherence. Hence the designation of it as verbal art. As such it is closely related to poetry, and indeed some prophetic oracles are poetry. It is, however, better to see 'poetry' as the

extreme end of a cline in which the possibilities of language are consciously and unconsciously motivated to an extreme extent. Persuasion as a genre also foregrounds the grammar so that its rôle in the production of meaning can become apparent.

8.5 METHODS OF PERSUASION

8.5.1 'Israel does not know', 1:3

'Give ear to the instruction of our God', 1:10

Chapter 1 is clearly about knowledge: Israel does not have knowledge, cf. 5:13, Therefore 'my people go into exile for want of knowledge'. Yahweh alone can remedy this and attempts to do so through his instrument, Isaiah the prophet. As is well known, knowledge and power are intimately related. There is much evidence in chapter 1 of the latter:

1. The voice of Yahweh through Isaiah. As we saw, Isaiah's use of the messenger formula avers the truth of what follows.
2. When such oracles as in chapter 1 were delivered originally, an audience could reply: it could question both the context and the form. The secular use of the messenger formula could be validated by the messenger's bearing a token of the sender; the prophet's only token was the content itself. We do have glimpses of opposition, e.g. Isaiah: 28:9-10, though

this serves only to validate the accusation within the present context of the oracles. The development of a prophet's words into a written genre distanced them from criticism and evaluation, a distancing perfected when the discourse became part of a sacred text. It was and still is, of course, possible to ignore the accusation and this is commonly done, not by outright rejection, but side-stepping, i.e. the readers can put themselves on the side of the prophet and see the accusation as meant only for others. That strategy ducks the issue of what the nature of this kind of discourse is. There is a failure to see that we may be dealing with an ideological treatment of an issue which once (and may still do) admitted of more than one valid viewpoint. (A good example is the treatment of the prophets other than Jeremiah in Jeremiah 23:9ff and elsewhere: they are called false and a string of arguments adduced to denigrate them).

3. The form of the prophetic oracle in its original cultural setting would not have shown it to be sui generis; it was clearly an adaptation of legal procedure (accusation-judgment); the intermediate stage of investigation using witnesses was otiose, because Yahweh himself makes the accusation. Since Yahweh could not appear himself, an intermediary spoke in his name, hence the messenger formula. With the passage of time the form comes to be unique and to acquire an authenticity independently of its content.

4. The prophetic genre as a discourse to instruct clearly differs from the use of story so common in the Old Testament, also as a means of instruction. Of course, the use of power in the prophetic discourse may be felt to be obvious, that in the story subtle, but stories do admit of evaluation; the prophetic discourse inhibits it (it is interesting to note that story was distinctive of Jesus' method of dealing with want of knowledge or distorted knowledge, rather than diatribe and invective).

8.5.2 Within the prophetic writings and especially 'Isaiah' and 'Jeremiah', there is another kind of discourse which achieves its authority in a different way. It is there in Isaiah 53, our next text to be analysed. Isaiah 53 is anticipated by Isaiah 1:5-6, but in '53' the pain is borne with patience to become an instrument of healing. In 1:5-6 the pain is a counterpart to the discourses: to reduce the rebellious to obedience by authority. The story of '53', of a life lived in weakness and shame, has a persuasive power quite distinct and other, and indicative of the shift from authority = suppressing of other voices (monologic) to persuasion in the presence of another voice = 'we', those addressed by the silent voice of the servant who were allowed to articulate their own discourse and to give the history of it (dialogic)⁴. The norm for prophetic speech is the monologue, which is quasi-interactive since it addresses a real or imaginary audience, but its aim is seldom to effect a dialogue with its

audience, but to silence its audience into obedient agreement. Some texts like '53' move away from this position towards the dialogic and allow others to speak. The use of the lament in chapter 1 is a move in this direction for it appeals rather than insists. As we saw, this preface uses a variety of forms and thus a variety of tones. There is the pathos of vv2-3 and vv21-23 co-existing with the violent invective of vv20, 24 and 28ff. Persuasion and authority are juxtaposed. Though vv5-6 imply sympathy, yet within the context of vv1-12 the wounded state of the people has to be seen as a result of divine infliction: how much more must I belabour you?; likewise v18 seems to sound an appeal but it converts itself into something akin to sarcasm. Thus the skilled rhetoric of chapter 1 now appeals to the voice of the one addressed, now suppresses that voice. What this analysis reveals overall is the use of rhetorical form in a highly complex, skillful and disturbing manner.

CHAPTER 8

FOOTNOTES

1. See III Sawyer 1977, Brueggemann 1984.
2. See Chapter 3.1.
3. For this approach to discourse see 1a Sinclair (1985).
4. The notion of suppressed and interactive voices (monologic v dialogic) is explored seminally by Bakhtin (IIb 1975, 1981). The idea of the dialogic approach underlies the analysis of chapter 9 and is signalled by the use of that word in the title.

CHAPTER 9

THE PERSUASION OF THE PROPHET (b)

the dialogic imagination

ISAIAH 52:13-53:12

PREFACE TO CHAPTER 9

'My Servant shall prosper'. The Servant of Isaiah 53 has certainly prospered in the sheer volume of interpretive literature since the nineteenth century. Much of this work has focused on the identity of the Servant, and candidates are legion as North's survey (III 1948) overwhelmingly demonstrates. This linguistic study of the so-called Fourth Servant Song will concern itself hardly at all with the issue of identity: less because the issue appears insoluble than because it does not seem to warrant the importance attached to it. My focus will be on the text as a discourse which foregrounds evaluation and re-evaluation.

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Isaiah 53¹, cannot be treated in isolation, so I shall relate it contextually not only to Deutero-Isaiah's thought but to the Isaianic tradition as a whole. In a wider study other intertextual implications of the discourse would need to be explored as well. I shall analyse the linguistic means used to construct the various figures in the text and to relate them to one another. I shall argue in particular that the text has an in-built ambiguity centring on the Servant's work and fate, and on human agency, and that it foregrounds mental activity, whereby it is able to constitute a discourse whose theme is evaluation.

9.2 THE LINGUISTIC CHARACTER OF THE PERSONS IN THE TEXT

In Isaiah 53 there is the Servant = 'he'; the 'we'; and the 'I' = Yahweh. I shall discuss the structure of the text and the allocation of speaking rôles later on in the light of the analysis of this section. For the time being I will assume that the verses relevant to the characters are as allocated in the tables. The whole thrust of this analysis is on the linguistic identification of the Servant.

9.2.1 The Servant

9.2.1.1 The following table lists and analyses verbs of which the

Servant is grammatical subject.

TABLE 9.1: THE SERVANT

	VERB	VERB PROCESS	SEMAN- TIC ROLE	TRANS- ITIVITY +t	TENSE MORPHO- LOGICAL	DIS- COURSE
13	prosper	Material	Patient	-t	yqtl	future
	be-exalted	Relation- al	Carrier: Patient	-t	yqtl	future
	lift up*	Material	Patient	-t	wqtl	future
	be-high	Relation- al	Carrier: Patient	-t	wqtl	future
15	startle(?)	Mental: affection	Phenomen- on	-t	qtl	future
1	grow up	Material	Actor	-t	wyyqtl	past
4	bear	Material	" "	+t	qtl	past
	carry	Material	" "	+t	qtl	past
7	oppress*	Material	Patient	-t	qtl	past
	afflict*	Material	" "	-t	qtl	past
	open	Material	Actor	+t	yqtl	{past, {
	open	Material	" "	+t	yqtl	{emph- atic
8	take away*	Material	Patient	-t	qtl	past
	cut off*	Material	" "	-t	qtl	past
9	do	Material	Actor	+t	qtl	past
10	see	Mental: perception	Senser	-t ⁱ	qtl	future
11	see	Mental: perception	" "	-t ⁱⁱ	yqtl	future

	be-satis- fied	Mental: affection	" "	-t	yqtl	future
	justify (not RSV)	Material	Actor	iii	yqtl	future
	bear	Material		+t	yqtl	future
12	divide	Material		+t	yqtl	future
	pour out	Material		+t	qtl	future
	number*	Material	Patient	-t	qtl	past
	bear	Material	Actor	+t	qtl	past
	make- intercess- ion	Material	" "	-t	yqtl	past emph- atic

- i For 'make', 'śym', see 9.3.3. take 'prolong' to refer to 'seed'.
- ii The RSV gives 'see' a complement; in the Hebrew m^cml npšw is a prepositional phrase functioning as an adjunct.
- iii It is not clear whether yšdyq is transitive or not here.

TABLE 9.2: SUMMARY

Mat- erial	Mental	Relat- ional	Act- or	Sens- er	Pat- ient	Trans- itivity		Tense (Discourse)	
						+	-	Past	Fut
18	4	2	12	3	7 + 2	9	15	13	12

To the above verbs with Subject = 'Servant' we need to add the considerable number of passive participles functioning as resultative adjectives used either attributively, mostly with ellipsis of subject, or as object complements. They differ from adjectives expressing a state = depictive in that they indicate

that the state so described is the result of an action.

TABLE 9.3: PASSIVE PARTICIPLES (See also Table 9:9 'Passives' column).

v3 despised (RSV 'rejected' does not correspond to a Hebrew participle form).

acquainted

despised

v4 stricken

smitten + agent = God

afflicted

v5 wounded

bruised

[v14] marred (if we accepted the often suggested emendment to participle form).

The implied/expressed subject/object is in each case a (Patient) Carrier, so that the total number of Patient rôles for the Servant is 17+ (to which we could add the Senser rôles, since these are nearer the patient end of a patient-actor cline, making 20+ Patient rôles). There is emerging a figure who is frequently the object of actions with unspecified Actors, one to whom things are done, but who is seldom depicted as carrying through actions to a goal (- transitivity). The number of finite passive forms (six in all) (see verbs marked * in Table 1) is unusually high for Biblical Hebrew in so short a text. In vv7-8 where they chiefly occur, they serve to keep the Servant in focus as Patient and

imply that human agency is not important. In fact, there is no instance of the Servant as Patient mapped as direct object of a verb process:material with subject = + human. We find only subject = God, v10a, which needs to be considered with 'smitten by God,' v4b (Agentive agentless passives are commoner in Biblical Hebrew) and 'Yahweh has laid on him the iniquity of us all', v6b, where 'on him' = place:Goal, i.e. it is God who is ultimately responsible for the Servant's fate. In fact in the Hebrew text the Servant is direct object only three times, two of which = Phenomenon. He is expressed linguistically chiefly as (1) subject (usually morphologically rather than pronominally), thus indicating his topic status; and (2) as Possessor (the clitic 'his' appears fourteen times, 60 percent of all occurrences) pointing to the relevance of aspects of his figure.

9.2.1.2 There is another interesting observation to be made regarding agency. We give below clauses where Servant = Actor.

TABLE 9.4: SERVANT AS SUBJECT = ACTOR

a	he-grew up	v2
b	he has borne our griefs	4
c	(he) has carried our sorrows	4
d	he-opened not his mouth	7
e	he-opened not his mouth	7
f	he-had done no violence	9
g	he shall bear their iniquities	11
h	he-shall divide the spoil	12

i	he-poured out his soul	12
j	he bore the sin of many	12
k	he-made intercession for	12

Agency is best regarded as a scale with the most potent Actor at one end and the least potent Actor at the other.² Since the semantic rôle of a subject is determined by the verb, we need to consider characteristics of the verb as well as the subject. If we set up the following scale for transitivity we can probe the 'he' above.

TABLE 9.5: DIMENSIONS OF TRANSITIVITY

+		←	<u>AGENCY</u>	→	-	
<u>action</u>	d e f			a b c g h i j k	<u>process</u>	
<u>perfective</u>	a b c f i j			d e g h k	<u>imperfective</u>	
<u>polarity (+)</u>	all except:			d e f	<u>polarity (-)</u>	
<u>realis</u>	all except:			g h	<u>irrealis</u>	
<u>volition</u>	k (b-j?)			a	<u>non-volition</u>	

There are, of course, other semes of agency other than + volition, but in this context only this one seems relevant. Now in the context as a whole other subjects = Actor are few (about seven), so that agency ought to be part of the profile of the Servant, yet

it does not 'feel' so. The cases where Servant as subject = Actor serve to keep the focus on him, but otherwise they are overshadowed by his passive rôle. And indeed, it is difficult to feel that any great number of the above clauses represent the Servant unambiguously as a potent Actor. I draw attention to two points:

1. negation he opened not his mouth.

Negative or collateral clauses are often background, i.e. this could have happened but it did not. These clauses are foregrounded by (1) repetition and (2) the reader's contrary expectation, - that he would protest. Do they mean:

he refused to protest

or

he was afraid to protest?

The sheep imagery enclosed by these two negative declaratives suggests the latter. Notice how this imagery contrasts with imagery of the same species at v7b, where the 'we' are described as straying and turning to their own way like sheep: here they hold themselves responsible, but the sheep imagery associated with the Servant uses two passive verbs, thus focusing on the sheep as Patients. There is a similar ambiguity about the negation in the two clauses, v9b. These could mean: he did only what is good and always stood up for the truth, or less strongly, the negative

qualities are stressed without implying the positive counterparts.

2. Similarly, the verbs carry/bear can imply a willing subject or an imposed - on subject. Do the clauses mean

he willingly bore their sins, i.e. he took them upon himself
or

he ended up bearing their sins by dint of circumstances?

Such considerations are important here, because the context itself highlights passivity and so activates this possible meaning in the above verbs. It is a kind of infecting.³ If in his humiliation he is passive, even in his glorification, he is linguistically scarcely less so; the stative + passive verbs of 52:13 and the mental verbs of 53:11 vis-à-vis chiefly the second 'divide' of 53:12, one of the few transitive process:material verbs unequivocally predicated of a potent Actor, and even here the context suggests derivative agency. It may be fitting that it is the final verb of the text which seems to ascribe fully agency to the Servant. It may mean something stronger than 'make intercession for': 'intervene physically'. If we regard the imperfect here as strongly aspective, then it is a picture of the Servant engaged in this process of intervention whilst all the other things happen to him, but even so, it does not take a direct object and on the previous scale as imperfective it moves in the direction of -transitivity.

9.2.1.3 We have thus sought to establish two aspects of agency in the text:

1. It is not clear how far the Servant is an agent even in instances where subject = Actor.
2. In other instances of verbs which imply a human agency this agency is suppressed, and only divine agency is unequivocally mentioned.

The passage ascribes virtually all action to the deity: the Servant's humiliation and restoration and effective achievement. By way of further confirmation of this:

v5 upon him was the chastisement that made us whole and with his stripes we are healed (lit. 'with his stripes it-was-healed/healed-itself for us', nrp' lnw).

The text avoids making the Servant the source of healing linguistically: he is the Place (upon him) of the chastisement of our peace (RSV 'that made us whole') and the location of the stripes (his stripes = the stripes inflicted on him) expressed as an Instrumental. The strange impersonal construction avoids 'with his stripes he heals us', reducing the Servant to a means and stressing the speakers as Beneficiaries. It is thus divine agency which is implied in this way (rather than by predicating a large number of verbs of God = Actor, as commonly elsewhere in II

Isaiah.)

9.2.2 The 'We'

9.2.2.1 Whereas the Servant is mapped overwhelmingly as subject = topic (either explicitly or morphologically), the small number of references to the 'we' are expressed variously, and I shall list them together.

TABLE 9.6: CASE-ROLES: 'WE'

v1	<u>Our report</u>	Possessor
2	<u>we-look</u> (r'h)	Mental Sensor - trans. impf: modal
	<u>we-desire</u>	Mental Sensor - trans perf: modal
3	<u>we-esteem</u>	Mental Sensor - trans perf: past
4	<u>our griefs</u>	Possessor
	<u>our sorrows</u>	Possessor
	<u>we-esteem</u>	Mental Sensor - trans perf: past
5	<u>our transgressions</u>	Possessor
	<u>our iniquities</u>	Possessor
	<u>our peace</u>	Possessor (RSV 'the chastisement ... whole)
	<u>for us</u> (RSV 'we')	Beneficiary
6	<u>we-go astray</u>	Material Actor - trans perf: past
	<u>we-turn</u>	Material Actor - trans perf: past
	<u>iniquity of us all</u>	Possessor

The 'we' are characterised mainly by Mental verbs and possessive

clitics. They find nothing attractive in the Servant and their reaction to him is expressed both negatively ('we esteemed him not') and positively ('We esteemed him stricken etc.'). The five possessive nominal groups = subjective are in clauses which state that the Servant came into possession of these negative things, which were external to him, whilst the two objective genitives make the 'we' beneficiaries of positive things: a life-giving report and healing. This complex of a negative reaction subsequently replaced by a confession of self-error is strongly modalised in various ways to express the emotion of the speakers: it is the interpersonal function which is to the fore here.

1. 'wh'-interrogatives, v1 (two of the only three verbs mood:indicative (interrogative) in the text). They are both virtually rhetorical:

who would believe? (no one except us)

to whom has been revealed? (to no one except us)

2. Adjuncts of comparison x 5, vv2, 6, 7. the sapling image reveals how the speakers feel that the Servant's origins and development were not propitious. The sheep imagery is especially interesting, because it is applied by the speakers both to themselves and subsequently to the Servant (for the time being we assume that vv7-9 are spoken by the 'we'). The one adjunct focuses on ovine straying, the other on ovine meekness. There is an irony in this twofold usage, for the 'we' are free to stray,

but the Servant becomes captive because of them. The poignancy of the image for the 'we' is underlined by its position between the two clauses 'he opened not his mouth'.

3. Repetition: apart from the aforementioned example of clause repetition = *inclusio*, there is also v2c with the series of three negated nominals whose effect is seen in the modalised clauses with simple *waw* + imperfect (see, desire). Lexical repetition is a feature of the whole text and here in connection with the 'we', there is 'despised', v3, 'sorrows', vv3,4, 'esteem', vv3,4, 'afflict', vv4,7, 'transgression(s)', vv5,8, 'iniquity(ies)', vv5,6, etc. The effect is to heighten. All have to do with the Servant's humiliation. Note also the grammatical repetition, v6, of 'all-of-us' - Hebrew kllnw (not so apparent in RSV, 'all we, us all').

4. Clustering. This is a similar device to repetition and is both lexical and grammatical here.

vv3-5: eight passive participles expressing a resulting state of affliction (see Table 9:3).

vv7-8: five passive finite verbs (*niphal*, *pual*, *hophal*), four of which continue the motif of physical affliction as in vv3-5.

This density gives an intense but bland description of the Servant's pain; it is not the kind of detail to give an objective

picture of the Servant's condition. Only 'was led away' introduces movement amid a detail which is largely stative.

5. Thematic Structuring. Although in rhetorical prose/semi-poetic texts VS word-order is much less the rule than in narrative prose, it is worth looking closely at vv4-6 where the themes are skillfully set up to reveal the affective element.

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| a | <u>Surely our griefs</u> <u>HE</u> carried | b | <u>our sorrows</u> he-bore them |
| c | but <u>WE</u> esteemed him stricken | d | smitten by God and afflicted |
| e | but <u>HE</u> was wounded for our
transgressions | f | bruised for our iniquities |
| g | the chastisement of our
peace was on him | h | and <u>by his stripes</u> there is
healing for us |
| i | <u>all of us like sheep</u> went
astray | j | <u>each to his path</u> we-turned |
| k | and <u>Yahweh</u> laid on him | l | the iniquity of all of us. |

This is an important moment in the discourse, when the 'we' express their re-evaluation of the Servant, occasioned by surprise and now also painful insight. The modal adjunct 'surely', 'kn', is therefore an important signal and frames not only the first bicolon, but the following ones. The ensuing OSV order continues the strong emotion of the adjunct. If we read OSV for both halves, inserting a second 'he', 'hw', on the strength of some ancient witnesses, we have two powerful emphatic assertions, which in English we have to capture with stress on the 'he' (or we could use a clefting device: it is he who carried them). The two 'he's' then balance one another. d is another emphatic statement

with an independent pronoun subject, and this 'we' is enclosed by the 'he(s)' of a-b and the 'he' of c, e. The speakers are caught up in the fate of the Servant, the grammar being iconic here. h thematises the instrumental adjunct 'by his stripes', the Servant's very humiliation becomes the source of their health. Items i, j underline the totality and wilfulness of the erring, and the section climaxes with an SV clause, k, l introducing 'Yahweh'; this contrasts with the earlier 'smitten by God', a conventional judgment employing the generic divine designation over against the name of Israel's God, implying a confession of faith. The frequent use of the possessive clitic 'our', -enu, helps to activate the phonological level in this affective passage highlighting a succession of 'u' sounds.

<u>-enu</u> our 5	<u>hu'</u> he 2
<u>-nu</u> us 3	<u>-hu</u> him
<u>-nu</u> (verb 1st person plural) 2	
<u>'ənahnu</u> we	

These in turn activate u sounds in non-grammatical words. In this way cohesion is further enhanced.

(It is instructive to write out this passage in the Hebrew using a waw-consecutive construction throughout and thereby eliminating the skillful thematic ordering. The affective element disappears and is replaced by an impersonal, matter-of-fact tone. It ceases to be a confession and becomes a report.)

9.2.2.2 It should be clear that the strongly modalised utterance of the 'we' is a powerful way of expressing a discomforting change of mind, with the process of evaluating anew. There is a nice irony in the way the conventional expression 'smitten by God', registering an orthodox view of suffering, is affirmed by the discourse's most signal evaluation 'Yahweh laid on him the iniquity of us all'. The 'we' were both right and wrong.

9.2.3 The 'They'

The references are:

TABLE 9.7: CASE-ROLES: 'THEY'

52:14	As <u>many</u> were astonished at him
15	so shall he startle <u>many nations</u> ⁴
	<u>kings shall shut</u> their mouths
	<u>they-shall see</u>
	<u>they-shall understand</u>
53:11	my Servant (shall) make <u>many</u> to be accounted righteous
	he shall bear <u>their iniquities</u>
12	I will divide him a portion <u>with the great</u>
	he shall divide the spoil <u>with the strong</u>
	he was numbered <u>with the transgressors</u>
	yet bore the sin of <u>many</u>
	and made intercession for <u>the transgressors</u>

These 'they' references group themselves chiefly as processes:mental, vv14, 15, and as adjuncts of accompaniment, v12. Lexically, ethical vocabulary is to the fore, vv11, 12, 13.

The four mental verbs (we could include the lexical expression 'shut their mouths' as well, since semantically this implies a mental state), mark the transition from a negative to a positive evaluation. The 'they' are here 'Sensers' and the Servant 'Phenomenon', i.e. the occasion of their mental state. The lexis of the ethical reveals the relationship of the Servant to the 'they' and by dint of this work, part of his exalted status at the very least is to be counted worthy to stand among the great. It is best to allow both meanings of rbbym, 'great/many,' 'kings' activates the former, as does šwmym, itself possessing a similar ambiguity: [great/strong]. If we also allow b- to be influenced by t, he actually bestows wealth on the great as an even greater benefactor rather than simply sharing among them as one participant.

9.2.4 The 'l'

The designation 'my Servant' in v11, a term common elsewhere in Isaiah 40-55, marks the Speaker as Yahweh. Characteristic of him is

1. the threefold use of 'my' (v13, 11, and v8, if we let the

text stand).

2. the eight verbs with future reference, vv13, 15, 11, 12.
3. the complex adverbial clause of reason, v12.

There is nothing unusual here: to Yahweh belong par excellence prediction and explanation and final affirmation. Third person references with past tenses occur, vv6, 10, in evaluative statements.

9.2.5 To summarise, the following points are reiterated:

1. In the discourse the Servant is TOPIC.
2. Human agency is not salient in the fate of the Servant; rather, DIVINE AGENCY is highlighted.
3. The Servant is essentially a PASSIVE figure.
4. Both the 'we' and the 'they' are mapped as engaged in MENTAL activity.
5. The 'we' passage is marked by MODALITY.

9.3 THE STRUCTURE OF THE PASSAGE

9.3.1 The text is clearly dramatic in that at least two parties speak; one is silent. The BHS layout plus the traditional chapter division gives a structure as follows.

↓

13-15 + 1 - 9 + 10 - 12

BHS

This only partially corresponds with speech allocations:

13-15	Yahweh
-------	--------

1-9	we
-----	----

10-11	?
-------	---

12	Yahweh
----	--------

13-15 contains an 'I' and a 3rd person 'they'. Commentators frequently experience two difficulties:

1. as many as were astonished at YOU v14
2. the 'as ... so ... so' (k'sr ... kn ... kn)
complex v14.

The YOU (singular) elyk would be the only instance of anyone addressing the Servant in the text, and it is usually emended to 'him', elyw. The description of the Servant ensuing is often felt to be an interpolation, perhaps misplaced from 53:2. Certainly, after k'sr = 'as', kn = 'so': manner is expected by the reader, not = 'so': intensifier.⁵ But the delay does introduce a note of pathos which heightens the reader's perception of the Servant's change of fortune, and it anticipates material in vv1-9: it sounds a major theme: that of appearance picked up in v2 (his prior insignificance) and v3ff (his apparent status as

leper/criminal), a theme which links with that of evaluation. I would let it stand, as also 'you'. Even if it is an error, it came in very early, and some must have felt it to be a satisfactory part of the discourse. The clause would function as an aside to the Servant and as an expressive mark of divine favour. It would be fitting dramatically that the Servant, who is otherwise acted upon and spoken about, should here be addressed, the very act of address itself effecting the inception of his restoration. All the way through II Isaiah, Israel, also described as Servant, is addressed and stands before imminent restoration.

The chapter division, a medieval insertion, is too strong a space marker. It could, of course, be seen as initiating a dramatic pause after the promise that they will have seen and understood, though it appears to sever the connection between 15b and 1a. 'Our report' would then refer forward and could even be taken as a subjective genitive. The chapter division is to be ignored and the two sections articulated by making 'they' = 'we', i.e. the 'they' articulate their newly acquired understanding. The foregrounding of mental verbs for both 'we' and 'they', and the strong modality of the 'we' speech corresponding to the astonishment felt by the 'they' support identification, as well as the dramatic sense that it would be fitting for the nations to speak, especially as throughout II Isaiah they are frequently addressed and promised a rôle as witnesses of Yahweh's impending act of salvation. This identification seems better supported

linguistically than 'we' = Israel, or 'we' = the Servant's friends (III Whybray 1978). There is no need to baulk at the nature of the language used by the heathen: they can speak this way because of the report and the revelation they receive, or, seen in terms of narrative theory, the narrator uses his own syntax and lexis to express the thoughts of characters.

9.3.2.3 Where do the 'we' cease to speak, at v6b, v9b, or somewhere in vv10-11? First of all, the complex vv7-9:

In favour of allocating this to the 'we' is

1. the continuing presence of modality: repetition, v7, and the use of imagery, v7, and the rhetorical question, v8b.
2. the imagery used in both vv1-6 and vv7-9 is similar.
3. the continuing description of the Servant's humiliation.

The major difficulty for vv7-9 = 'we' is 'my people', v8d. Such an expression is typically associated with the divine and is supported by my Servant (twice). If the 'we' do say this, then it could be understood with difficulty as meaning that they were speaking representatively, on behalf of all nations, but we would expect 'our' as elsewhere (six times). Other possibilities are:

1. Textual corruption. I am always reluctant to take this way out unless manuscript evidence is strong and the problem unintelligibility or deviant grammar. But here it is a

problem at the discourse level.

2. The narrator/prophet speaks, v7ff. Apart from whether the designation 'my people' would be condign, this means introducing someone who is virtually self-effaced, elsewhere in II Isaiah. Some would hold that the whole of chapters 40-55 is spoken in heaven.
3. Yahweh speaks, v7ff. I see no strong reason for assuming this against the earlier linguistic arguments. Dramatically it is more appropriate that Yahweh's speeches form an *inclusio* for the text enclosing the 'we's re-evaluatory confession.
4. v8d, is a dramatic interpolation: either an interjection by Yahweh, or a kind of quotation used by the 'we'; elsewhere their evaluations are expressed in their own words, vv4-5, 6b. I do concede that because the following two words ng^c lmw suggest textual corruption, the case for emendment is strengthened, but I do not regard it as impossible to retain 'my people' as an instance of intrusive discourse which functions to ensure that the reader continues to see the Servant's continuing humiliation sub specie *aeternitatis*.

9.3.3 If we allocate vv1-9 to the 'we', what of vv10-11? Here immense textual difficulties are encountered. If we do not allow a narrator speaking in their own right, then v10a is a final

evaluative summary by the 'we'. We can allocate them also the rest of v10. If 'm = if is strongly conditional, then the three ensuing future verbs contrast with the future forms used by Yahweh quite unconditionally: only human-beings with limited knowledge and vision have to operate with conditional premises. Of the two obvious possible ways of translating 10b, nfšw is grammatically better as object rather than subject of a non-affective verb.

If you make him an ashām, ('šm RSV 'offering for sin')

would be an appeal to Yahweh to accept the Servant's humiliation. It would be fitting for the heathen to address Yahweh directly as his newly-won people, and their appeal, though expressing something already revealed to them, reveals the depth of their conviction, that compensation has been made for them to Yahweh. It is a dramatic device, and a pedagogic device too, for it allows the text to focus on the essential condition to be fulfilled, if the Servant is to experience exaltation. Two factors suggest that v10 = we, v11 = Yahweh: (1) the clause inclusio of v10 effected by hps = will, 10a, d; and (2) the use of 'he will see' with the second one affirming the first but going beyond it:

if you make him an 'ašam, he will see offspring

after the anguish of his life he will see

i.e., he will indeed see but will see more than offspring and a

continuing respectable life. 'See' is here used absolutely and is best left so without introducing LXX's not unreasonable 'light'. It means he will understand completely. I will take this up again later.

I attribute vv11-12 to Yahweh. The only remaining minor problem is the unexpected imperfect ysbl = future? (RSV 'he shall bear'). NEB/JB translate with '-ing' clauses which perhaps lessens the force of a simple future and points a way out by treating it as a temporal clause with past reference. Or we can take the imperfect verb as purely aspectual, making vivid the whole period of his humiliation, which has made it possible for him to justify/show righteousness to/show himself as righteous, whatever the public work is that is a consequence of his past experience. It may, of course, indicate a continuing rôle for the Servant. This marked use of the imperfect form can be matched with a similar usage at v12 (RSV 'made intercession').

9.3.4 Having argued for the following speech allocations:

13-15	Yahweh
1-10	we
11-12	Yahweh

I want to probe how the discourse works as a whole. The divine speech of authority introduces and concludes the discourse. Within the discourse the exaltation and abasement phases

alternate.

exaltation	13	future
abasement	14	past
exaltation	15	future
abasement	1-10a	past
exaltation	10b-12a	future
abasement	12b	past

The passage ends by reminding us of the experience which made possible the restoration. Although the last reference to the Servant's past is in an adverbial clause of reason, its complexity: two coordinated clauses with the major premises and a further two coordinated clauses probably so-called Circumstantial clauses expressing here simultaneity in time with what proceeds, and its end position lend it great weight. The restoration with which the text begins must not be seen apart from the abasement with which it ends.

Yahweh's speech leads nicely into the 'we' speech:

for that which has not been told them they shall see
and that which they have not heard they shall understand

who has believed what we have heard
and to whom has the arm of Yahweh been revealed?

Notice how the mental verbs complement each other: seeing and understanding result in believing. Using subdivision of the mental process employed by Chatman (IIa 1972), we have the progression

perception → cognition (decision) → belief

The 'we' then review their earlier decision, vv2-4, using

<u>perception</u>	<u>precognition</u>	<u>cognition</u>	<u>belief</u>
see v2	desire v2	esteem v3	smitten by God v4

and overthrow it. The cognitions of vv4-6 are reaffirmed in v10 as a deeply held belief; this cognition will not be revised. We have already noted how the speech foregrounds evaluation rather than event-line. What of the usual division at vv9,10? The division can stand, since v10 is both a summary and a heightening of cognition into belief. Additionally v10 prefaces Yahweh's second and concluding speech. This final speech affirms the correctness of what the 'we' have confessed and assures them that what they have grasped, the Servant will see too. v11a,b is probably the most important aspect of the Servant's deserts. Granted the difficulty of knowing where to place bd^ctw, 'by his knowledge' and of whether to give it its common meaning, I translate

after the torment of his life he will indeed see
 he will be contented with the insight he has acquired

It is not only the 'we' who receive knowledge, the Servant does likewise. Of them it is said that they see and understand and believe, of him, very powerfully, 'he will see', used absolutely and cognitively, not perceptually. Now, of special note, is the fact that the Servant never speaks. It is promised that he will see, not that he sees now. Here we run into the problem of identity, and I lay my head on the block by assuming the unmarked case that it is simply Israel. This would make the abasement real and past. I no longer feel as some that there is an immense gulf between empirical Israel of the exile and the figure here. I have noted the equivalence about the Servant's volitional agency. Israel is called to see a new way of looking at her hardship and the resulting consequence is portrayed in the moving confession of the nations' speech. Since Israel is poised throughout II Isaiah as on the brink of deliverance, the point would be that Israel is to evaluate the exile not as a negative experience, but as one which has had a positive effect hitherto unperceived by her. This gives the discourse a powerful effect. Thus is Israel stirred to the challenge and the silence of the Servant is a crucial discourse ploy: what will Israel say, and indeed, since the text has more than mere historical curiosity, what will the reader say? Will she too see?

9.3.5 I want to conclude this section by demonstrating how the

use of lexis binds the text together and makes the individual speeches cohere. We have already noted how the passage is cohesive through other devices, e.g. passive verb forms, modality devices. I shall tabulate the lexis according to two principles, (1) lexical groups and their distribution, and (2) repetition. In this latter table I shall take the opportunity also of including two grammatical features: the distribution of the emphatic pronoun 'he', hw', and of passive verb forms.

9.3.5.1 TABLE 9.8: TYPES OF LEXIS

	SERVANT'S BODY	+ LIFE	- LIFE	ETHICAL	MENTAL
13		prosper be exalted, lifted up, very high			
14	appearance <u>mr</u> 'h form		marred		astonished
15					startle told, see heard, understand
1					believe
2	form, comeli- ness, beauty,	grew up			look at, ¹ desire
3			despised, rejected ² ←sorrows ³ → ←grief ⁴ → despised		esteemed
4			←borne griefs ⁴ → ←carried sorrows ³ → stricken, smitten afflicted		esteemed

5		wounded	transgress-
		bruised	ions
	made whole ⁵		iniquities
	healed	stripes	chastise-
			ment
6			iniquity
7	mouth	oppressed	
	mouth	afflicted	
		slaughter	
8			oppression
			judgment
			consider-
	land of living	cut off	
		stricken ⁶	transgress-
			ion
9		grave	wicked
	mouth	death ⁷	rich
			violence,
			deceit
10		bruise,	
		put to	
	himself ⁸		
	offspring	grief	offering
	prolong days		for sin
	prosper		see
	hand		
11	soul ⁸	travail	see
			be satis-
			fied
			knowledge
			righteous
			make...
			righteous
		bear	iniquities
12	soul ⁸	poured	
		out...	
		to death	transgress-
			ors
		bore	sin
			transgress-
			ors

NOTES

1. r'h 'see'
2. hdl '?bereft of
3. { 'pains' mk'b
 {RSV footnote
4. { 'sickness(es)' hly
5. šlwm 'peace'
6. ng^c 'blow
7. bmtyw 'in his deaths', ?bmtw 'in his tomb'
8. npš 'life'
9. hhly 'make sick'

Observations on Table 9.8

1. These lexical groups account for about 60 percent of the non-grammatical vocabulary. Apart from the mental category, these groups are not only internally cohesive but cohere among themselves as well, including the ethical, by dint of the close relationship in the Old Testament between sin and affliction.
2. The groups cluster chiefly in vv1-9 and vv10-12, with the exception of the mental group present throughout. vv13-15 seem to adumbrate the Servant's abasement whilst underlining the Servant's exaltation with three synonymous verbs, v13, coming right at the beginning like a fan-fare, and concluding significantly with a plethora of mental verbs.

3. None of the groups makes explicit precisely how the Servant suffered, which accounts for the differing views among commentators viz. the Servant was leprous or diseased in some way; the Servant was ill-handled and subject to a miscarriage of justice; the Servant died; the Servant was as good as dead. Even his position vis-à-vis legal procedure is obscure on account of the many ways of translating mn 8a RSV 'by', and the nominals it governs. See NEB which offers both a privation of Law mn = 'without' (text) and a miscarriage of justice, mn = 'after' (footnote). It is probably not possible to decide between disease and ill-treatment: even hly vv3,4 and mk² b, vv3,4 are ambiguous and can refer to physical or mental pain. The death lexis need not imply actual death (see the Psalms of Lament), though if the writer were portraying death and subsequent resurrection, this need not be problematic. He could use language from the cult of the dying and rising gods and from the ritual humiliation and restoration of the king (especially if the latter were practised in pre-exile Israel). Surely, the ambiguity should stand: it heightens the Servant's fate and restoration: he is as one diseased and maltreated, done to death and in extremis, restored and resurrected. There are other pictures of metaphorical resurrection in exilic literature, e.g. Ezekiel 37. The ambiguity which confuses lexical groups is counter-balanced by the collocation, in v5, of 'chastisement' and 'peace' and of 'stripes' and 'healed', both pairs in a relationship of

equivalence because of the bicolon arrangement. In this way lexical groups are brought into unexpected relationships.

4. Note how in vv10-12, several new words are used for the first time, the most important of which are 'offering for sin' 'šm'; 'righteous' šdq; 'knowledge', d^ct. The last mentioned is yet another aspect of the text's ambiguity, if we allow the rarer meaning of 'humiliation' as well as 'knowledge', i.e. the word is really a homonym (cf. 3b; a possible rendering is 'humiliated by grief'). The other two words are summaries of the Servant's 'work', 'šm referring back, šdq forward into the future.

TABLE 9.9: REPETITION

Please see overleaf.

		SERVANT	PROSPER	LIFT UP/ ¹ BEAR	MANY	APPEARANCE FORM	MOUTH	SEE	SORROW GRIEF	BEAR/ ² CARRY	TRANSGRES- SIONS	INIQUITY/ IES	LAY ON/ INTERCEDE	WILL	SOUL	HE	PASSIVES
SECT 1	13	x	x	x													x
	14				x												
						xx											x
	15				x		x										
SECT 2								x									
	1																
	2																
						xx		x									
	3								xx								xx
																	x
	4			x					xx	x						x	
																xxx	
	5										x	x				x	xx
	6																
												x	x				
	7						x									x	xx
																	x
							x										
	8																x
											x						x
	9																
	SECT 3							x									
10									x					3a _x	4 _x		
			x					x						5b _x			
11								x							x		
		x			x					x		x					
12					5 _x											x	
											x				x		
			x	x						x		x			x	x	

NOTES

1. ns'
2. sbl
- 3a. { verb
- {hps
- 3b. { noun
4. RSV himself
5. rbbym, RSV 'the great'

9.3.5.2 Observations on Table 9.9

1. There is a rich pattern of repetition throughout the text, and it is especially dense in the last section of three verses, where only two of the sixteen groups do not recur. This means that the concluding section gathers up the themes of the rest of the text and weaves them together.
2. Common to all sections: ns' - the Servant is 'lifted up' because he 'lifts up' pains and sin; see - a major motif of the discourse; passive verbs - these characterise the topic = the Servant.
3. Common to Sections 1 and 3 only, and forming an inclusio: prosper - it is this phenomenon which causes the great surprise and review of beliefs and judgments; my servant - the discourse topic formally announced; many - the focus of Yahweh's work through the body of the Servant.

4. Unique to Section 3: 'will' hps - this formally declares the Servant's degradation to be the divine intention; 'life' npš - it is with this that the Servant was able to serve Yahweh's cause. (We have noted already words unique to Section 3 but not repeated: 'offering for sin' šm - the theological explanation of what was achieved through the Servant; 'knowledge' dct - the result of 'seeing'; 'righteous' sdq - the consequence of the Servant's achievement).

5. The only repeated words not used by Yahweh are 'grief' and 'sorrow', but with the 'we' he shares the ethical terms 'transgression' and 'iniquity'. The former is their own wording, the concrete expression of sin, which should have been felt in their own persons. We can understand all these key words to have been given in the revelation, though, since this is not explicitly stated, the effect in the discourse is that Yahweh confirms the theological articulations of the 'we's discourse by repeating their key words. The only words used by Yahweh and not by the 'we' are 'my Servant' and 'many'. The latter of course is echoed in the twofold klmw, 'of us all'.

- 6a. The rare verb pg occurs twice (hph) with different meanings (see Section 9.6 for further comment).

- 6b (RSV 'has laid') Subject = Yahweh perfect + transitive

12b (RSV 'made intercession) Subject = Servant imperfect
- transitive

- b. śkl also occurs twice, in the introductory and concluding sections 52:12, 53:10 and similar to the case with pg^c, one with the Servant as subject and one with, here, an aspect of the deity as subject (the will of Yahweh); RSV translates both times 'prosper', but the verb can also mean 'act wisely'. Clearly there is a relationship between these meanings: wise action may lead to success. If we render 52:12 'my servant will act wisely', his exaltation becomes a consequence of this and the opening declaration sounds the paradox of the entire piece: wise action comprises passivity in a humiliation mistaken publicly for punishment. We would also forge a link with the cognitive lexis: 'he shall see', i.e. acquire understanding, and 'by his knowledge'.
7. The independent pronoun 'he' hw', has five occurrences underlining 'Servant' as topic, two of which form an inclusio with 'we' in contrastive function, vv4-5.
8. The density of passive forms is impressively demonstrated.

9.4 INTERTEXTUALITY: THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

9.4.1 Since Duhm it has become common-place to set our text alongside the other three so-called Servant Songs. This orthodoxy

has been subject to mounting pressure in recent years, and my own position is that the context for understanding Isaiah 53 is immediately II Isaiah and beyond that the entire book itself. I see no persuasive linguistic or theological or discourse reason to isolate the four Servant Songs. The onus of proof lies on those who wish to do so. I want briefly to relate the above analysis to the forementioned contexts, subdividing into 52-54, 40-55 and finally, the entire book 1-66.

9.4.2 Chapters 52-54

9.4.2.1 Mood

Although it is not easy to discern a detailed structure in II Isaiah, the later chapters do have a climactic feel, with 55 as a conclusion gathering up major motifs. '53' is enveloped by clusters of imperative verbs expressing urgency: 52:11-12 x 6; 54:1-4 x 10. (Note also 52:1-2 x 7). All three passages speak of an impending restoration: Zion is to put on festal garments; the exiles are to prepare to depart in dignified procession; and the nation as mother and wife is to break into song. The dense repetition of 52:13a, the opening verse of the Servant passage, picks up and reinforces the motif of a marvellous restoration as does 53:12a, whilst the account of the degradation acts as a foil to the promised reversal of fortune. All the verbs mood:imperative contrast with the almost exclusive mood:declarative of our passage without any imperatives at all.

The past declaratives speak of what was visited upon a passive servant, the future declaratives of a change of circumstance wrought from without. The imperative passages call upon the people simply to act as if the exaltation is about to begin: it is something into which they enter; they do not create it themselves. This brings us to the second linguistic feature.

9.4.2.2 Seeing

for eye to eye they see the return of Yahweh to Zion, 52:8b.

Yahweh has bared his holy arm before the eyes of all nations
and all the ends of the earth shall see
the salvation of our God, 52:10.

In 52:15 the nations do indeed see and they attribute their newly acquired belief to the revelation of 'the arm of Yahweh'. 53:1 and just as Zion's watchmen see, so shall the Servant see. Once again, those who are about to enter into a new state are characterised by mental activity.

9.4.3 Chapters 40-55

I believe it wrong to understand the book of II Isaiah as a rigid division; it is rather a major episode or movement in the great drama of the book of Isaiah. Indeed, it is questionable whether chapter 40 is the best place to make a division; chapters 35-39

deserve to be seen as a preface, at the very least. The deliverance of Zion and the healing of Hezekiah prepare for the restoration of the exiles and their healing. And 35:6 sounds a major motif of II Isaiah, seeing and hearing:

9.4.3.1 Israel, designated in all some nineteen times 'servant', is defined more narrowly as someone who is to see and hear and understand, specifically expressed as the rôle of 'witness'. Two key passages are 42:18ff and 43:8-10. Notice the density of mental verbs and the lexis which typically collocates with them.

- 42:18 Hear, you deaf
 and look, you blind, that you may see!
- 19 Who is blind but my servant,
 or deaf as my messenger whom I send?
 Who is blind as my dedicated one,
 or blind as the servant of Yahweh?
- 20 He sees many things, but does not observe them;
 his ears are open but he does not hear.
- 43:8 Bring forth the people who are blind, yet have eyes
 who are deaf, yet have ears!...
- 9 Let them bring their witnesses to justify them
 and let them hear and say, It is true
- 10 You are my witnesses says Yahweh
 and my Servant whom I have chosen
 that you may know and believe me

and understand that I am HE.

TABLE 9.10: MENTAL LEXIS 42:18-20; 43:8-10, 53

PERCEPTION		COGNITION		
AURAL		VISUAL		
hear 3	deaf 3	see 2	blind 5	know
	ear 2		eyes	understand
		witnesses		believe
	{hear	see 4		knowledge
Is53	{			understand
	{			believe

Notice that Israel is not to be a witness to others but to herself; in her conscious awareness of being a witness she benefits herself, but according to Isaiah 53 in her humiliation and exaltation she is unconsciously also a witness, but a witness to others. She too must see, and the kernel of seeing is the acknowledgment of the divine sovereignty which achieves all. The cognition theme is strongly present in chapter 40, the 'prologue'; v21 'know, hear, tell, understand'; and v28 'know, hear'.

9.4.3.2 The nations, too, are associated with this kind of lexis. Already 40:5

And the glory of Yahweh shall be revealed
and all flesh shall see it together

and 41:20

that men may see and know
may consider and understand together
that the hand of Yahweh has done this,
the Holy One of Israel has created it.

In 52/53 they see and articulate what they see: how apposite after the promise to them that they will see, and in the wake of the many addresses to them, chiefly as disputants, but also unequivocally as intended beneficiaries of divine revelation (49:1ff).

9.4.4 Chapters 1-66

9.4.4.1 Cognition is a major motif in I Isaiah. It is made the very substance of the prophet's task in 6:9-10, where the characteristic lexis abounds: 'hear' x 3 + 'ears', 'see' x 3 + 'eyes'; 'understand', 'perceive'. The divine commission is to frustrate the process of cognition in a people which believes that it does already see and understand - 28:9: the prophet is mocked for daring to teach and explain those who need no teaching nor explanation, and 29:14 threatens the overthrow of the nation's

wisdom and discernment. This links with 40:13-14 where Yahweh proclaims himself as supremely wise in a passage having mental and associated lexis. It also links with one possible rendering of śkl, 52:13, 'my servant will act wisely' (not RSV), a mode of action not at all wise to onlookers and whose results astound. Right at the end of the book, 66:18-19, the motif is present once more

...they (the nations) shall come and shall see
my glory

... and from them I will send survivors to the nations ...
that have not heard my fame or seen my glory and they shall
declare my glory among the nations.

It is not entirely clear in vv18ff whether RSV's pronouns, which reflect the ambiguity of the original, are to be referred to the nations or to Jews. However, either reading is fitting for the theme of the book: the blind Jews are enabled to bring others to a state of seeing, or the nations themselves, also once blind, now enable others to see.

9.4.4.2 Lastly, the location of the stimulus to seeing in a diseased/maltreated body in Isaiah 53 is partly anticipated in Isaiah 1:5-6 where Israel is declared to be smitten by leprosy/beaten in punishment as a slave. Here she remains obdurate, deriving no benefit from the experience for herself or

for others. In 53 she will at last see. Observe how 'stripe', ḥbwrh, occurs 1:6 and 53:5, there unhealed and untreated, here a means of healing.

9.5 CLASSIFICATION OF THE DISCOURSE: REGISTER AND GENRE

9.5.1 What kind of text is '53'? II Isaiah's frequent use of psalm-forms would suggest we look there for enlightenment. More recently, Whybray (1978) has classified it as a third person thanksgiving offered by friends of the servant. II Isaiah is creative in his use of genres, so we may not be able to pinpoint any one type and may have to see it as unique. At this point I shall now gather together many of the linguistic features discussed so as to review them at the level of register, i.e. to ask how the linguistic features realise the FIELD of activity of the discourse, constitute the TENOR of the interpersonal relations and shape the MODE of presentation.

9.5.1.1 FIELD

Summary

Transitivity

+ Patient; + Senser
- Actor
+ mental verbs

Intersemantic Relationships

as as (kn kn)
for (ky)
although (c1)

<u>Tense</u>	<u>Lexis (content)</u>
- waw-consecutive imperfect	body/affliction ethical mental

The past events and states focused upon highlight one party as passive recipient of a degradation where human agency is ignored, but divine agency is held responsible ultimately. The treatment, fate and efficacy of this figure is described in strongly ethico-religious terms. The second party's involvement with this figure is expressed cognitively and affectively. Their original depiction of the event is rejected and replaced by its opposite. The past events are preceded and followed by predictions which, in fact, effect the change of opinion in the second party, such that their re-evaluation is in posterior relationship to a third party's declaration (the deity).

9.6.1.2 TENOR

Summary

Mood + declarative

<u>Persons</u>	1st singular/3rd singular + speaking rôle	:	Yahweh
	1st plural/3rd plural	+ speaking rôle	: nations
	3rd singular	- speaking rôle	: servant

he-we patterning, vv1-6

strong modality especially independent pronouns

 rhetorical questions

 adjuncts of comparison

 clustering of descriptive lexis

Only two parties speak, though the silent party is the cynosure of attention throughout. The two speaking parties utter statements, not questions or commands. The 'we' speakers speak in an emotive tone, and the effect of their change of opinion is to invest their description of the non-speaking 'he' with pathos, and with admiration. In their speech first and third person constantly alternate at vv1-6, occasionally with independent pronouns stressing the contrast between the 'we' and the 'I'. Although a past agency is attributed by the 'we' to the divine speaker, when speaking he himself does not claim agency but is the source for prediction.

9.5.1.3 MODE

Summary

Cohesion by repetition and synonymy

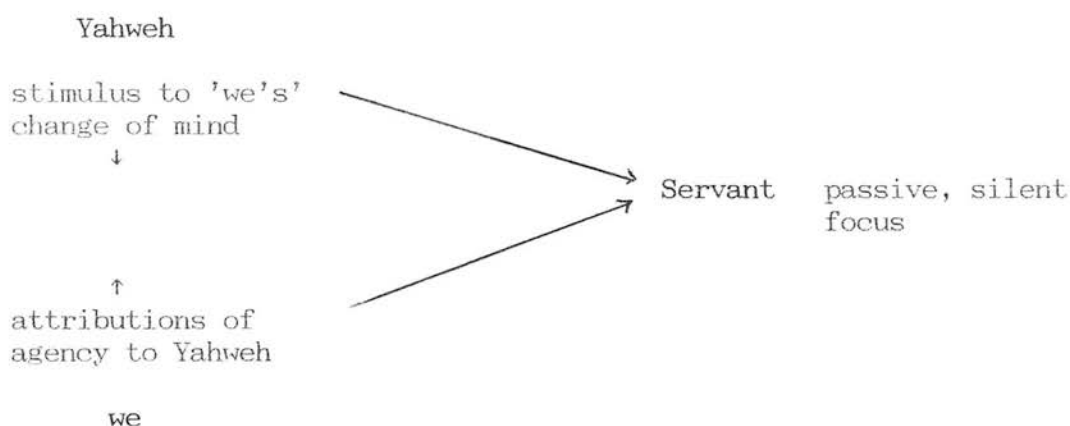
Thematic ordering both for modal and textual reasons, e.g. v4 modal, v12b,c rhythm and balance.

voice passive verbs to the fore.

The passage is strongly rhetorical with its bicolon arrangement, variety of theme, and its extensive use of repetition. There is evidence of persuasion by argument with the 'therefore', v12a, picking up both the 'if' clause, v10, and effectively the whole of the 'we' confession, and the complex reason clause at the end summarising the Servant's 'work'.

9.5.1.4 The text is strongly affective and conative; has a set to both speaker = we and to addressee. The poetic function is also operative by dint of both the bicolon patterning (encouraging the perception of equivalence), and the brevity and cohesion of the text as a whole. It lends itself to being seen synoptically. We can sum up the relations among the parties with a diagram.

DIAGRAM 9.1



9.5.2.1 Does this overview by means of register enable us to ascribe the text to a genre? I want briefly to consider whether the genre of the encomium (or eulogy) may not fit our text.⁶ This

is a genre not much in evidence in the Old Testament. Its chief context would have been the court: praise of the king, and there is some evidence of this cultural activity in the Psalter. Some of the so-called royal psalms may help to an understanding of II Isaiah's form. From a superficial survey of Psalms 20, 21, 45, 72, 110, which are usually ascribed to different royal settings, e.g. coronation, marriage, the following elements are present:

1. intercession for good fortune;
2. praise for what the king is/does, both present and future, less so in the past;
3. chiefly one speaker who may make use of divine oracles and may be joined at times by a congregation;
4. the psalm is addressed partly to the king, partly to Yahweh;
5. the focus is the king seen within the context of the divine benevolence but (at least in these Psalms) he does not speak;
6. doxology at the end.

9.5.2.2 How does 'Isaiah 53' measure up?

1. Intercession is strongly to the fore in the above Psalms, but in '53' the only possible hint of it is v12 beginning 'if', see Section 9.3.3. (In v12 it is the eulogized persona who intercedes).
2. Whereas the king is praised explicitly with characteristic lexis for such qualities and deeds as befit him, the Servant

is described in all his degradation. In laments, this would be an occasion to plead with God and remind him of his past great deeds; in thanksgiving psalms it would lead to praise of God for deliverance, both times by the sufferer. Here the humiliation section functions to elicit an attitude of surprised admiration. It is concerned entirely with the past.

3. As in the royal psalms there is a divine and human speaker, though the divine speech is not here projected from the latter's discourse but is independent, i.e. juxtaposed as one of two voices. The human speakers do not take the initiative: it is God who reveals the Servant as a potential focus of praise.
4. The addressee is not obvious: the 'we' speak of God and the Servant in the third person, and God speaks of them also indirectly. We could say that the whole discourse is for the benefit of the Servant that he may see, v11.
5. Doxology is absent.
6. The Servant is focus indeed, and he is assured of the future divine benevolence. He does not speak.

We would have to speak of an original use of the royal praise psalm by II Isaiah. It would link in with those who see in '53'

the influence of royal ritual and ideology, e.g. Eaton (III 1979). This need not lead down the path of making the servant a royal figure, only that II Isaiah found the possible motifs of humiliation and exaltation in the royal cult apposite to his purpose here, as he may have found the royal encomium. The surprise is the concentration on aspects of a person normally suppressed or highlighted as a basis for something else, i.e. report of deliverance after prayer to the god.

9.6 CONCLUSION⁷

If in fact the text parodies the royal song of praise, this would be one of several devices used in Isaiah 53 to effect surprise and challenge beliefs resulting in a new appraisal of a situation. The text makes use of irony and ambiguity to foreground the process of evaluation. The original judgment: 'we esteemed him ... smitten of God' is both denied and affirmed! Denied in its negative sense, that the Servant was a guilty recipient of God's wrath, v4, and affirmed in its positive sense, that the Servant was indeed subject to the divine agency, vv6b, 10a. The original opinion is conventional in language and thought: only the wicked suffer thus; the new opinion unconventional: God afflicts a party beyond its rightful deserts. For this reason the text is not interested in human agency, certainly as far as the immediate origin of the Servant's affliction is concerned, and perhaps even not interested in the agency of the Servant. Significant of this

and of the frequent lexical device of generating ambiguity is the twofold use of the rare pg^c, once of Yahweh, v6b, and once of the Servant, v12f, to describe both what Yahweh does and what the Servant does. It comes as the very last word of the passage and must inevitably by dint of position and uncommon occurrence recall its earlier use, and though the two usages are different semantically, the device of equivalence juxtaposes them in the reader's mind, so that the two judgments of the events merge, the one from above: what Yahweh did, and the one from below: what the Servant did. The human ability to read history is challenged, and the human proneness to smallmindedness demonstrated, and even the Servant is drawn into the cognitive process, for he too must see. Elsewhere, the Servant has been described as blind (and deaf): the Servant has to witness to himself, and the onlookers also have to witness, that what may appear to human beings as negative can be made positive by the divinity, an instrument of salvation. In this text the 'we' and the Servant and the reader become objects of the persuasion function.

CHAPTER NINE

FOOTNOTES

1. 'Isaiah 53' is used for convenience to designate 52:13-53:12 as a whole. Although the passage is divided between two chapters, there is no overlap of verse numbers, so I have not always accompanied verse references with the chapter number.
2. Hopper and Thompson's work on transitivity (Ib 1980) is an improvement on the traditional transitive-intransitive dichotomy. Further investigation is needed to weigh the respective value of the semes of transitivity as in Table 9:5.
3. A clause not included in Table 9:4 is rendered in RSV as 'he was oppressed and he was afflicted, v7a. The niphal could also be translated 'and he humbled himself', i.e. submitted. The clause has the grammatical form of a 'circumstantial' (whilst) clause, which would suggest the latter rendering. It is significant that RSV has chosen the passive interpretation.
4. The other possible reading, 'he will sprinkle them' also expresses a strong change from the servant as object of abhorrence to the servant as one who treats them as abhorrent (they are in need of cleansing).

5. RSV 'so marred' comes earlier in the Hebrew.
6. The possibility of this was suggested by Professor J. C. L. Gibson of New College, Edinburgh.
7. For an approach not dissimilar to the one taken in this chapter as a whole, see Clines (III 1976).

CHAPTER 10

THE PERSUASION OF THE PHILOSOPHER

transitivity and the construction of meaning

ECCLESIASTES 1:1-3:9 and 11:7-12:8

PREFACE TO CHAPTER 10

Leo Spitzer described the hermeneutic circle, or in his terms, the 'philological circle' as a 'to-and-fro voyage from certain outward details to the inner center and back again to other series of details' (Spitzer 1948, pp. 19-20), i.e., the reader is struck by certain linguistic features which she essays to relate to her intuitions about the meaning of the work and she then examines other details in the light of this initial hypothesis building. From 'Ecclesiastes' I have selected a number of passages located at the beginning and end of the book, some 30 per cent of the work, where the transitivity system appears to have a significant role in shaping the meaning. The usual assumption is that the writer sees the world as an entity governed by rigid laws, which are not orientated specifically to human beings.¹ The linguistic evidence of these passages points in this direction; some other passages would need to be examined to test the thesis further.

10.1. INTRODUCTION

In this analysis I shall focus largely on the ideational metafunction by means of which we represent reality as a process of different kinds; we construct reality as the realm of doing (process:material), feeling etc. (process:mental) and being (process:relational). The processes are realised grammatically chiefly by the verb associated with one or more Participants and are further defined by Circumstantials (non-Participants, i.e. non-nuclear constituents). The traditional way of describing the nuclear complex of verb and Participants is transitivity: transitivity implies an action performed by an Actor, which may or may not extend to another Participant, i.e., in Halliday's terminology: Goal (that towards which the action is directed or extended by the Actor) or elsewhere, more commonly: Patient (that which is affected by the extended action of the Actor). Thus Halliday distinguishes between process:relational verbs, e.g. *hyh*, whose subject and complement are semantically associated (intensive) and other 'process' verbs whose subject and object are non-semantically related by some kind of action (extensive). Transitivity in its purest form is best seen as a property of process:material verbs, and in this analysis I will not normally apply the concept to process:mental verbs, where, if anything, the movement is in the other direction, i.e. grammatical object as stimulant (Phenomenon) to grammatical subject as stimulated

(Senser) in the case of many verbs. (Sometimes, as in English, the process is reversed with Senser as object). Elsewhere (9.2.1.2), I have suggested it may be helpful to see transitivity as a cline rather than as an absolute category, the degree of transitivity depending on certain features of the Participant(s) and verb, i.e. the strongest form of transitivity would involve a single human agent acting of free volition, whose action totally affects another human participant. On this system process:mental verbs would have a weak transitivity.

10.2. Chapter 1:2-11

10.2.1 The relevant linguistic data is as follows

TABLE 10.1: VERB ANALYSIS 1:2-11

No. of verbs	Process				Transitivity		Agency			
	Mat	Men	Rel		+t	-t	+h	-h	+h	-h
			V	Ø						
36	20	7	7	8	1	19	12	25	3	12

The passage may be divided thus:

2-3 general introduction to the theme of the book. The question of v3 is echoed at 3:9, the end of our first chosen piece of continuous text, and is also repeated in similar form at 2:22

and answered at 2:11b. We would, therefore, expect the material immediately ensuing to illustrate the futility of any human optimism about lasting, profitable activity in a world not ordered to that end.

The universal quantifier 'all' kl [all is vanity, in all his toil] appears three times in the following section, providing a linguistic link. vv7, 8, 9 (RSV nothing new = kl ḥdš).

4-9 description of the natural world vv4-7 with comment vv8-9.

4-7 is characterised by the active participle: fifteen of the sixteen verbs constituting a gnomic present. There are fifteen verbs of motion, with one solitary verb, 'stand', ḥmd, expressing stasis. Subjects = Actor are predominantly non-human, and the various kinds of movement are detailed by a plenitude of Circumstantials, chiefly adjuncts of place.

8-9 introduces four mental verbs, 'utter', ('mr), 'be satisfied', 'see', 'hear' and thus a human viewpoint (as does also ygḥym if it is being used as an attitudinal = wearisome).

In 4-9 note the emphasis on the totality of the spatial dimension: all rivers, all things (words), not all = nothing new.

10-11 As the foregoing passage has explored the spatial, so this explores the temporal and is characterised by tensed relational clauses.

The lexis of time (as nominals and adjuncts) is to the fore.⁷ The complete absence of process:material verbs, and the predominance of the relational clause contrasts with the earlier verbs of motion and marks the conclusion as stasis. (RSV 'come' = Heb yhyw 'will be')

10.2.2 The verbs of motion (participles) show a natural world for ever in motion: the sun and wind move in ever returning circuits; with the rivers it is not clear whether a similar circular movement is described, or they are thought of as continuously flowing into the sea. The remark about the sea's never filling up is consistent with either, i.e. despite all their activity, the waters achieve nothing, and, possibly, they end up where they began, just like the sun and wind. There is a good deal of repetition among the verbs:

rises 2 (sun), goes 2 (wind) + 3 (rivers), turns, sb, 3 (wind), returns, šwb, 1 (wind) + 1 (rivers).

This is carefully marked with the wind by dint of 'turn', sbb, verb 3 noun 1. Translating vlb literally:

It goes to the south and turns to the north; turning

turning goes the wind and by its turnings the wind returns (not cognate).

All this activity is emphasised by intransitive verbs, which in itself need not be remarkable; it is often the context that creates its own norms, and in the whole of 1:2-11 there is only one transitive verb (process:material) v3b, and that is in a relative clause and is cognate with its object: literally 'he toils his toil', and as such cannot be regarded as strong transitivity (Halliday's 'Range' rather than 'Goal' classifies the object). In vv4-7 the intransitivity is associated with a special kind of non-achievement; adjuncts of place expressing direction are common here.

- 5a to its place
- 5c there
- 6 to the south, to the north
- on its circuits
- 7 to the sea
- to the place

They suggest that these natural phenomena arrive somewhere; however, they arrive where they started and then recommence. In the case of the wind, the twofold use of 'turning', v6b (RSV 'around') functions as an emphatic manner adjunct, i.e. the manner of its movement is closely associated with its goal.

10.2.3.1 How are we to understand v4? In recent years the translation of dwr as 'human generations' and rs as 'earth' has been queried. For the time being we shall stay with the usual renderings. Human beings too are in motion, although the verbs here want place adjuncts and so a sense of circularity is not obvious. However, if the rivers are not circulating, then there is an instance of continuous linear motion in the natural world too. Now, the instances where subject = human share without exception a particular feature. They do not designate any particular human being but are felt as group nouns v4 'generation' 2, v11² 'former folk', 'latter folk'², v3 'man' or impersonal v8 'a man', v10 (one) 'says', RSV it is said, (In Hebrew the verb alone shows person here), i.e. human beings are expressed as collectives or impersonally. This tendency is reflected also at v8b where 'eye' and 'ear' are used metonymously, and v11 where 'remembrance' is a possible nominalisation of the structure: (human being) remembers Phenomenon, or Phenomenon reminds Senser (human being). Notice how the metonymous subjects are also implied subjects of the infinitives 'see', 'hear', both used absolutely, i.e. without an object, thus aligning them with the other mental verb in the previous line³, 'utter'. The want of objects = Phenomenon in a context of intransitivity suggests non-achievement once again. The universe is not particularly friendly to human beings. Its laws are such that natural objects are subject to an

ever-changing regimen which subjects them to futility, and humanity with them, which is deprived of all individuality (see 3:1ff later). How then does the declarative 'the earth stands for ever' tie in? Do we translate the waw as 'and' or 'but'? The adversative sense suggests the natural world has an advantage over humanity. Yet the advantage could only be that, whereas individual human beings experience futility for a short while, the four elements experience it unendingly. 'And' is better, for it aligns the earth both with humanity and with sun, wind and rain, i.e. the stasis is not to be seen positively as an advantage (the adjunct of time: extent underlines its duration). Rather the earth itself achieves no more than any other created thing: human beings are for ever in linear motion, sun and wind in circular motion, and the earth frozen into stasis.

10.2.3.2 The above interpretation is not the only one possible.

Whybray claims that the passage does not speak of futility but of the wonder of the creation which eye and ear can never tire of admiring. One of his moves in achieving this interpretation does not commend itself to me: the separation of the passage from vv2-3. Addition it could be, but unless it can be shown as a crass piece of editing, it has to be accepted, if we wish to interpret the book as it has come down to us. However, his suggestion that dwr = 'age' is more in order. This would eliminate human beings from a comparison with the non-natural world, as would also Ogden's

suggestion dwr = 'cycle', which makes an excellent thematic word for the entire passage, but usage elsewhere makes this most unlikely. Fox makes 'rs' = 'humanity': no sooner one generation departs, than another comes, so that there is as much a sameness about humankind as about all the other phenomena in their comings and goings. We thus have the following couplings:

generations	-	earth	RSV
generations	-	humanity	(III Fox 1988)
ages	-	earth	(III Whybray 1988)
cycles	-	earth	(III Ogden 1986)

Unfortunately we do not have a corpus of texts from the period of this book (granted we can ever be sure of its dating) to help us detect the contextual sensitivity of this lexis and the restraints exercised on it. (In instances like this the traditional philological approach can be of great help in suggesting nuances and other possible meanings). Fox's interpretation is sensitive to the marked order of the verbs go - come v4a with v4b as a fitting comment about perennial changelessness. We then pass on to similar observations about phenomena in the non-human world.

10.2.3.3 The futility reading seems to be confirmed by the concluding temporal section vv10-17. It commences with the question whether there can ever be anything new, so picking

up the final comment of v9: there is nothing new under the sun. (This in turn with its place adjunct 'under the sun', picks up the first of many occurrences of v3b: humanity may toil but they will change nothing whatsoever).

10-11 is constructed out of time lexis and lexis hinting at time.

already	new
for ages	
before us	
remembrance 2	
former }	
}	folk (or RSV 'things')
latter }	
latter	
afterwards	

plus the marking of tense on the verb

past 2	future 3
--------	----------

Six of the relational clauses can be described as subclass:existential, (hyh = 'exist' or the pure existential markers y^v and 'yn = there is/there is not).

All this serves to grasp time in its totality, and with this the passage concludes, drawing into this eternity holding

nothing new the movement and toil of both human beings and natural phenomena. 'What advantage has man in all his toil...?' v3 'They have no remembrance ...' v11 (both clauses in Hebrew process:relational:possession). Human beings achieve neither anything new, a possibility shared with nature, nor do they achieve remembrance, a possibility unique to themselves. Of course, for the reader there is irony here, since the very act of reading this ancient text effects remembrance, and indeed, the writer himself, if we date the work late, as is commonly done, employs the very act of remembrance as a narrative device at 1:12ff in assuming the guise of, for him, an ancient king.

10.3. 1:12-2:26

10.3.1 I shall focus in particular detail on 2:4-8. Linguistically, the entire passage differs from 1:3-11 in the following features:

human subjects outnumber non-human subjects. (This is normal): human 78 (+ 14 implied/metonymous) against non-human 60

60 per cent of verbs are + transitive

mental lexis is foregrounded: about 75 words

about 50 per cent of the occurrences of c_{ml} = 'toil',
and about 30 per cent of the occurrences of c_{sh} = 'do'
are found here

- 10.3.2 1:12-18 introduction to the experiments. The section
is subdivided by the two couplets vv12-15, and
vv16-17; the first could be characterised as
emphasizing the extent of the quest, and the second
the depth of it.

Almost one-third of the mental lexis is concentrated in this
section and underlines the nature and method of the
experiment. In 1:14a (literally) 'I saw all the doings which
are done under the sun' = extent is balanced by 1:16b
(literally) 'I saw multiplication of wisdom and knowledge' =
depth. The cognitive and reflective aspect are especially
brought out by the fourfold 'mind' (lb). The knowledge of
wisdom and of madness and folly are cojoined in non-finite
clauses v17 preparing for the unusual collocation in the
second couplet of 'wisdom' and 'vexation', and 'knowledge'
and 'sorrow.' Before proceeding further, I give here an
oversight of the entire mental lexis of 1:12-2:26.

TABLE 10.2: MENTAL LEXIS 1:12-2:26

<u>Verbs</u>	<u>Nouns</u>
say ('mr, dbr) 5	wisdom 11 wise man 5 eye 1
see 8	knowledge 4 mind 7
know 4	pleasure 4
ask 1	remembrance 1
forget 1	skill 1
hate 2	
enjoy 1	madness 2 fool 5
	folly 4
	vexation 2
	sorrow 1
	pain 1

Notice how the mental verbs cover the full range of mental activity, according to the Hallidayan classification: perception, cognition, affection, verbalisation. Although the positive cognitive/affective nominals outnumber the negative ones, their value is negated by the speaker. Their predominance stresses the seriousness and pessimism of his final judgment.

- 10.3.3 2:1-11 2:1 introduction and anticipated conclusion
 2:2-8 account of experiment
 2:9-11 summary and verdict

vv4-8 is linguistically important for an understanding of the narrator's theme. The statistics are:

TABLE 10.3: VERB ANALYSIS 2:4-8

No of verbs	Process		Transitivity				Agency				Bene- fici- ary
	Mat	Men	Rel		+t	-t	+h	-h	+h	-h	
			V	Ø							
14	11	-	3	-	11	-	11	3	9	1	8

Standing out here is the high 'charge' of transitivity and the human as both Actor and Beneficiary. The text expresses a frenetic, extensive activity, with the introductory clause sounding this theme:

I enlarged my activities (RSV 'I made great works')

The purpose of this grand activity is not altruistic (I will make a test of pleasure 2:1) as the frequent use of ly 'for myself' demonstrates. It is absent in only three finite clauses. This intensive, self-benefitting activity is directed towards two kinds of object:

TABLE 10.4: KINDS OF DIRECT OBJECT

<u>Resultative or Factitive</u>	<u>Patient</u>
houses	trees
vineyards	wood
gardens	servants
parks	maids
wells	gold
5	silver
	treasures
	male }
	} singers
	females }
	concubines
	10

Notice how all the nouns are plural count nouns or mass nouns. The concrete nature of the objects, especially with the admixture of human, and a highly potent subject = Actor of past tense verbs makes for a position high on the + transitivity cline. It is, moreover, not only marked transitivity which expresses this process of enlarging; the constituency of successive clauses effects a kind of grammatical mimesis of enlargement:

TABLE 10.5: CLAUSE CONSTITUENCY 2:4-8

v4	V		Obj
	V	<u>Ben</u>	Obj
	V	<u>Ben</u>	Obj
5	V	<u>Ben</u>	Obj [N + N]
	V	Adj	Obj [N ← Nom]
6	V	<u>Ben</u>	Obj [N ← N]
	V	Adj	Obj [N ← Rel cl (V obj)]
7	V	? <u>Ben</u>	Obj [N + N]
	S [N ← N]	V	<u>Ben</u>
	S [(N + N + N) ← Adjv]	V	<u>Ben</u> Adj[PP ← Rel cl (V + C (PP ← PP))]
8	V	<u>Ben</u>	Obj [N + N + N ← N + N]
	V	<u>Ben</u>	Obj [(N + N + N ← Nom)/N + N]

KEY: Adj = Adjunct, Adjv = Adjective, Ben = Beneficiary, C = Complement, N = Noun, Nom = Nominal Group, Obj = Object, PP = Prepositional Phrase, Rel Cl = relative clause, S = Subject, V = Verb.

← dependent on, + co-ordinated, /in apposition

N.B. 'Beneficiary' is a case-rôle term, not an element of clause structure, but it is preferred here to demonstrate the

saliency of this item. Some manuscripts have it in v7a as well.

The above brings out the increasing complexity of the clauses. If we count the chief constituents, we get the following totals.

TABLE 10.6: CONSTITUENCY - ITEMS⁴: SUMMARY

<u>Verse</u>	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	
4	2	8	
	3		
	3		
5	4	8	A Total for
	4		individual clauses
6	4	9	B Grand total for
	5		co-ordinated clauses
7	3	17	in sentences (coincide
	4		with verse divisions)
	10		
8	7	16	
	9		

10.3.4 In v9 the speaker summarizes the outcome of such zealous self-aggrandisement: he becomes great and surpasses all. He also sums up the motivations behind this work: he indulges eyes and heart. (Note the probable merismus: his whole

being) with every pleasure and proceeds to say: my heart found pleasure in all my TOIL, and this was my reward for my TOIL. An investigation into the use of the roots ʕsh 'do' and ʕml 'toil' in chapters 1-2 suggests that ʕsh is neutral in tone and ʕml strongly affective as the English counterparts suggest. Their distribution in chapter 2 is:

TABLE 10:7: DISTRIBUTION OF THE ROOTS OF ʕsh AND ʕml

ch 2	<u>ʕsh</u>		<u>ʕml</u>		Total	<u>ʕsh</u>	<u>ʕml</u>
	Noun	Verb	Noun	Verb-adjective			
3-8	1	4	0	0	0	5	0
9-17	2	4	3	0	1	6	4
18-23	0	0	3	2	3	0	8
						11	12

Note how the distribution corresponds with the movement of the passage.

		<u>do</u>	<u>toil</u>
3-8	description of activity = experiment	5	0
10-17	reflection on the activity/experiment and on the life's work of foolish and wise generally	6	4
18-23	final verdict	0	8

We move from the neutral šh to the attitudinal ml via the bridge passage where the two roots co-exist. The verbal idea is uppermost with šh 8:3, whereas the predominance of the nominal with ml 8:4 make the stative notion conspicuous (amel vv18, 21 = RSV 'toil' (verb) is unique to 'Ecclesiastes' and has the pointing frequently associated with stative intransitive forms). The yield of all activity is seen to be not profit and pleasure but futility: subjective introspection reveals only toil as the achievement of human life.

10.4. 3:1-9

10.4.1 Of the 4 complexes which we are examining, this is easily the most conspicuous in its grammatical make-up by virtue of the rigorous use of a particular construction. In the body of the poem, leaving aside the superscription v1 and concluding comment v9, we find the following pattern:

- | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|----|
| a. | nominal + <u>l</u> and infinitive | 23 |
| plus two minor variations | | |
| b. | nominal + Ø and infinitive | 3 |
| c. | nominal + nominal | 2 |

'c' is in traditional Hebrew grammatical terms a construct, while 'a' and 'b' can be seen as quasi-constructs. The use

of the infinitive as a verbal noun has the following consequences.

de-energising of the verbal idea in nominalisation
 elimination of agency
 generalisation

This thoroughgoing process of nominalisation finds its fitting climax v8 in the use of the pure construct, i.e. two nominals: the nominalised verbs come to rest in these pure nominals. Now most of these activities here seen as processes and finally as stasis are characteristically human and some uniquely so; hence the use of the infinitive suppresses the human actors: there are no subjects and finite verbs.

The verbs have the following features:

TABLE 10.8: VERB ANALYSIS 3:2-8

No of verbs	Process			Transitivity		Agency
	Mat	¹ Mat	Men	+t	-t	Actor
26	20	3	3	3	23	0

¹subclass: behaviour

The twenty-three verbs used intransitively break down like this:

material 20, of which 13 can take an object = Goal/Patient

mental 3, of which 3 can take an object - Phenomenon

i.e., only 7 are always intransitive

Thus these human activities are seen as processes without reference to human subjects: the focus is twofold, (a) on material, i.e. external aspects of human nature and (b), on the process itself. (In the majority of cases its extension to affect some material entity or bring it into existence is ignored). It needs to be considered whether intransitivity here creates a sense of ineffectualness or is a means to contemplate processes objectively in complete purity.

10.4.2. The passage is strongly cohesive, which is achieved at various levels.

10.4.2.1 PHONOLOGICAL

assonance ō 19 (by virtue of the usual
morphological form of the
infinitive)

ē 14 (ȝet = time) + a sub-pattern 5bβ
6aβ (with the verbs mehabbeq
lbaqqeš, l'abbed)

alliteration 1 23 (mark of the infinitive)

10.4.2.2 GRAMMATICAL noun + verb/noun

10.4.2.3 LEXICAL

repetition ८६t

antonymy right through the series. Some of the pairs would be collocations too, e.g. love/hate. The oppositions are basically life-promoting and life-denying and perhaps some sub-division is possible, e.g. life-death, construction-destruction, joy-sorrow.

In effect the lexis constitutes a hyponymy of human life in all its major aspects.

10.4.2.4 The structure as a whole reveals certain local variations (seen as in the original, i.e. right to left).

<u>Verse</u>	<u>Semantic</u> <u>Polarity</u>
--------------	------------------------------------

2	- +
---	-----

- +	reversal of polarity after v2 marks v2 as leitmotif of series, i.e. life and death
-----	--

3	+ -
---	-----

+ -	
-----	--

4	+ -	
	+ -	
5	+ - - +	marked as mid-point by (1) chiasmus effecting change of polarity, (2)
6	- + - +	3-3:2-3 stress pattern, (3) two verbs in succession with direct objects.
7	+ - + -	
8	- + + -	a chiasmus effects closure of the series.

Even the superscription and comment are drawn into the pattern to a certain extent.

v1	the twofold use of <u>1</u> to produce quasi-constructs.
v9	twofold ococurrence of dominant \bar{o} + the stative form \bar{c} amel.
vv1/9	verbless, i.e. as elsewhere nominal rather than verbal.

10.4.3 So far Qoheleth has surveyed the natural and human world and conveyed the impression of activity which is non-achieving, a kind of stasis in perpetual motion; he has surveyed human activity in the experiment, i.e. wholesale construction and self-aggrandisement, and concluded that

human activity ultimately won through to nothing of worth, and now he contemplates the human world in pure abstraction. The tight cohesion of the poem creates a powerful dialectic like a surging and falling back of the sea. It is perhaps too much to say that the dialectic is one of inexorable, imprisoning movement. It depends on whether Qoheleth thought that human beings could discover these appointed times or whether they were felt as sudden impinging fate. Sundry passages elsewhere (3:11, 8:6-7 etc) suggest pessimism about the possibility of discovering the pattern for one's life. With v9 we have an echo reaching back to 1:3. The comment implies that there is no real gain from human toil, hence the intransitivity of 3:2-8. Perhaps it is black humour which sets v5 as mid-point with its two transitive verbs object = 'stones'.⁵ Certainly the suppression of human agency and human effectiveness could suggest an unfriendly dialectic. On the other hand, 3:1-8 may give the divine perspective on human life: God sees the pattern and looks on with equanimity.

It is worth pointing out here how both 3:1-8 and 1:4-7 have a noticeable phonaesthetic quality. In the latter the participles have a mesmerising effect with the 'o' and 'a' sounds (the latter sound may have been pronounced o)⁶, thirty-one in all, whilst the o and e assonance aided by 'l' alliteration of 3:1-8 almost gives the feel of an incantation with the short balanced members creating a polarity.

10.5. 11:7-12:8

10.5.1 There is some uncertainty reflected in the English versions where this section should begin. I agree with BHS, since the lexis of light and of time in 11:7-8 links in with similar lexis in the following verses and, more immediately, the imperative mood associates 11:7-8 with 11:9-12. V8 with its 'jussives' is a general reflection on the human situation; v9ff focuses on the youth with direct address, for only the youth has the opportunity to act so as to integrate the harshness of human fate.

TABLE 10.9: VERB ANALYSIS 11:7-12:8

No of	Process				Transitivity				Agency	
	Rel				Subj				Subj = Actor	
verbs	Mat	Men	V	Ø	+t	-t	+h	-h	+h	-h
43	30	9	3	6	5	24	11	26	5	13

The figures reveal a high degree of intransitivity and a predominance of non-human subjects which also outnumber the human subjects as Actors. This would be consonant with the traditional view of the text as an allegory of senescence. I do not intend to view the passage in this way, as the inherent mechanical decoding device of this approach does

scant justice to the great variety of imagery whose unity is not to be sought in some meronymy of the **geriatric**. The passage may be subsectioned thus:

11:7-10	Youth	12:5b	Nature
12:1-2	Impending Storm	12:5c	Death as locomotion
12:3-4a	Domestic Decline	12:6	Violence
12:4b	Attenuation of Sound	12:7	Death as dissolution
12:5a	Fear	12:8	Concluding refrain

I want now to demonstrate the characteristics of these subsections and their interconnexions.

10.5.2 11:7-10: YOUTH

This section is conspicuous by virtue of its mood: imperative. Elsewhere the mood is exclusively declarative (except 12:1).

2nd singular : rejoice, walk, know, remove, put away

3rd singular : rejoice, remember, cheer

The implicit subject is 'young man', and the combined effect of the mood forms is to urge to enjoyment and the removal of anything that hinders pleasure. It is here that we find four of the five transitive verbs,

let your heart cheer you
 God will bring you
 remove vexation
 put away pain

three of which have an implicit human subject. Youth is seen as the critical time when life can be enjoyed, hence the urgency of the imperatives. It is the time when a human being has sufficient will to get some mastery over themselves. The lexis underlines the 'sunny' view of this stage of life.

youth	4	see
		sight
		eyes 2
		light
		dawn
		sun

This 'light' lexis is threatened by another kind of lexis which anticipates the development of the text.

<u>time</u>	- <u>pleasure</u>	- <u>light</u>
many years	vexation	darkness
days	pain	
remember		

All this is reinforced by the twofold occurrence of 'vanity', and the ominous remark about divine judgment.

10.5.3 12:1-7

Before looking at the subsections, the overall structure of the passage is to be noted. The whole section coheres in a time structure expressed grammatically at Halliday's 'logical' level [a sub-component of the Ideational].

v1 <u>ʕd</u> 'šr + 2 clauses	RSV 'before'
v2 <u>ʕd</u> 'šr + 2 clauses	
v3 <u>bywm</u> + 5 clauses	RSV 'in the day when'
v4 oβ b + 8 clauses	RSV 'when'
[v5c <u>ky</u> + 2 clauses	RSV 'because']
v6 <u>ʕd</u> 'šr + 6 clauses	RSV 'before'

Only v5c with its explicit statements about human death is not grammatically subordinated to the temporal conjunctions and so stands with 12:1a and 12:8.

Remember also your creator in the days of your youth
because man **goes** to his eternal home, etc.

Vanity of vanities, says the Preacher; all is vanity

which give the bare bones of the passage's thought: the

stretch of life beyond youth is overshadowed by death and is no time for decision. The reason clause embedded at discourse level in the temporal nexus is ghosted by a 'before': Remember, because/before man goes to his eternal home.

10.5.3.1 12:1-2 Impending Storm

The 'remember' echoes. 11:8 where it is used is the third person; here it is more pointed, and the mental act of remembering and thus of redeeming time, i.e. making the most of it when opportune, embraces the whole of the succeeding passage. Because of this dominant role, it has to be seen as the precondition of the actions urgently enjoined, 11:8-10: youth is urged to get the right perspective on life. The following storm imagery picks up the earlier 'light' lexis with 'light' and its list of heavenly bodies: sun, moon, stars, and juxtaposes it with negative pictures: clouds and rain, evil days as well as cancelling it with 'darken.'

10.5.3.2 12:3-4a Domestic Decline

Here there is a picture of an entire household denoted by the merismatic use of nominals which together encompasses employers and servants, male and female. They are subjects of verbs which can be seen as describing a process of decline: tremble, bend oneself, cease, be few, dim. They

should be linked with the verbs of the foregoing subsection: come, draw nigh, return, which describe a literal movement of threatening nature; here the verbs of decline denote a metaphorical movement, also threatening to human beings. Notice how both the heavenly bodies and those looking through the windows darken/dim. This is the negation of the light lexis in 11:7-10 centred on sight and seeing. The detail of the closed doors seals the picture of a house becoming lifeless.

10.5.3.3 12:4b Attenuation of Sound

At first sight this species of imagery seems to fit ill with the context, but the clue to the force of the figure lies with the verbs 'is-low' špl and 'are-brought-low' šḥḥ which associate themselves with the metaphorical movement of decline. wyqwm 'and one rises up' is not easy to understand: I take it to indicate an attenuation of sound. Note how the grinding image links the two sections: domestic and sound.

10.5.3.4 12:5a Fear

These brief suggestions of a negative, oppressed state of mind have various interconnections, which weave into the coherence of the text. 'Height' recalls 'rises' and stands in antonymous relationship to 'is low'. 'Fear' and 'terror' are the features of the end days of 12:1 and are instances of

'vexation' and 'pain', 11:10. It is the very opposite experience of seeing light, which is 'sweet' and 'pleasant', 11:7.

10.5.3.5 12:5b Nature

The translation of this section bristles with difficulties. It can broadly be rendered in two ways.

the almond blossoms, the grasshopper drags itself, the caperberry fails.

the almond blossoms, the grasshopper goes sated, the caperberry bursts/fruits.

One suggests decline, the other the continuing vitality of the natural world. Both begin with a positive picture of the early blooming almond. Allegoriscors have referred this to the hoary head of old age, but otherwise one would expect it to be a positive picture of joy and hope. As such, it is a suitable starting-point for either series: joy declines and hope is disappointed, or joy increases and hope is fulfilled. Since the almond is in blossom in early spring, the grasshopper active late spring/early summer, and the caperberry is late summer-fruiting, there is the suggestion of the progress of the seasons and hence of time. We have seen how the passage is structured by time conjunctions, and

how the time lexis of 11:8-12:1 anticipates this. We now find it to be present in the nature imagery, but is it grasped positively or negatively? The verbs of decline are time viewed negatively, and so the first alternative would reinforce this. The grammar may favour this interpretation, for not only are this section and the previous two subordinated to the time conjunction, but all the verbs are imperfects with simple 'waw' suggesting simultaneity. Otherwise, we have a powerful contrast full of pathos reflecting on the fate of the human household, and on human fate in general in the immediately juxtaposed verse 5c, with which v5b contrasts: human beings decline and die, nature remains vigorous and mocks this decline. Or simpler and more forceful: as a human being loses vigour and draws near to death, they are surrounded by painful evidence of life's vigour and pleasure which they can no longer enjoy.

10.5.3.6 12:5c Death

Human death is spoken of in a mitigating way: not the blunt 'man dies', but 'man goes to his eternal home'. Here the human--being is depicted as Actor undertaking a homeward-bound journey. As with 'the mourners go about...', this is one of the rare instances in the passage where a human subject = Actor. Poignant irony! 'Eternal home' activates (1) the time motif; hitherto time is threatening, here it is abolished, (2) the house motif; we have seen the

house shut up and in decline, here it is enduring. Thus this description of death is spuriously attractive. But death will soon be revealed in all its brutality. 'Outside' has already been used at v4 = in the street RSV and v5 uses 'in the way'. The exterior has acquired a sinister association: in v4 because of the juxtaposition it seems that the doors are shut against the onset of the storm, whilst v5 makes the outside the realm of terrors; now in v5c it is death which is revealed as the real threat to human life. It cannot be shut out.

10.5.3.7 12:6 Violence

Here we return to the domestic scene with two kinds of items: mundane jug and wheel, and precious silver chord and golden bowl. Both are subject to violent actions: snap, break 2, shatter. This contrasts with the slow decline portrayed previously, and because of its position between a figurative and a literal description of death (v5c v7) it becomes an evaluative comment on human death: all that is noble or useful, whether in the individual or in a society, is subject to the brutal annihilation of death.

10.5.3.8 12:7 Death as Dissolution

This final section is linked to the previous one by the imperfect with simple 'waw', and speaks frankly of death as

dissolution using the well-known terms of Hebrew anthropology. This verse effects a climax with a rhetorical flourish in a couplet with similar syntax and a partial chiasmus:

V (Impf)	Noun	PP ← dependent clause
Noun	V (Impf)	PP ← dependent clause

The reference to the deity is to be noted. There are only three references in this text, 11:9, 12:1, and here. In 12:1 the deity as creator is object = Phenomenon of the mental verb 'remember'. Otherwise he is subject = Actor but both times in non-main clauses: a 'ky' subordinate clause, 11:9, and a relative clauses, 12:7. Thus the deity is associated with

11:9 judgment and the end of life: bring you into
judgment

12:1 the prime of life: in the days of your youth

12:7 the giving of life: God who gave it (the spirit)

All these clauses express the extent of human existence, and encompass a description of life in which the threatening forces of decay and decomposition loom large, 12:1-6. Since the idea of a postmortem judgment does not form a conspicuous part of Qoheleth's thought, the concept of judgment here comes to embrace this very process of dissolution. If 11:9c

is an addition, as frequently maintained, then its content has wrenched it from the controlling hand of the inserter to acquire a meaning probably never intended : that decay and death are the universal judgment for all humanity.

10.5.3.9 The passage overall presents us with a kaleidoscope of images ranging from youth to death and embracing meteorological, climatic, aural, violent and natural imagery, by which human beings are depicted as powerless and impotent, borne along by the irresistible movement of time. The passage and all Qoheleth's pensées conclude with the doleful refrain, 12:7.

10.6 Conclusion

The two stretches of text analysed have shown transitivity patterns which reinforce Qoheleth's view of human life as toil and vexation: human beings are ineffectual in a world subject to laws which they cannot control or fully understand and which hold sway inexorably over human life. In 2:4-48 the experiments on a grand scale expressed with a grammar foregrounding transitivity reveal the folly of human existence, and thus 3:1-9 offers an incantation-like description of human life with no explicit reference to human agency at all, and simultaneously foregrounds an intransitivity which parallels the description of nature

1:5ff, but using intransitively and without agency many verbs normally transitive, unlike the latter passage. The book concludes with another passage exhibiting a high degree of intransitivity patterns reflecting the ineffectualness and feebleness of human beings in decline.

CHAPTER 10

FOOTNOTES

1. Crenshaw (III 1988, pp. 24, 28, 92 et passim) is typical of those who stress the fate theme.
2. r'snym, 'hrnym: RSV, JB, GN refer these words to things, NEB, NIV to people.
3. RSV's 'it' is not in MT.
4. i.e., the immediate constituents: nominal, verbal and prepositional groups.
5. Even if v5a contains two idioms, the compositional structure is activated by the foregrounded absence of direct objects elsewhere.
6. Meyer (Ib 1966, pp. 55-56) discusses the Tiberian long a/short o notation and refers to a sound-shift in a Palestinian dialect, which, though early Christian era, may have started early enough to embrace our text.

SECTION 4

THE STYLISTIC ANALYSIS OF LYRIC POETRY

CHAPTERS 11-12

CHAPTER 11

HUMAN MORTALITY (a)

anguish coram dei

PSALM 90

PREFACE TO CHAPTERS 11/12

Stretches of discourse, e.g. Isaiah 1, have already been analysed where Jakobson's poetic function or set to the language of the text is to the fore (IIa Jakobson 1960). Here two psalms of some originality are examined; by virtue of the well-known Hebrew device of parallelism, the projection of the paradigmatic axis into the syntagmatic axis is a regular conventional feature. Little comment has been made on metre itself because of the want of substantial agreement in this area, for it is a study in itself. I have assumed that as Biblical Hebrew was a language with strong stress, its metre was a stress-timed kind.¹ As the texts are brief and the poetic function encourages a synoptic vision, I have analysed the two psalms in some detail. Such verse, even if fairly conventional, can still demonstrate the poetic process whereby words (with the paradigmatic overshadowing the background of the network whence they are a selection) interact to create meaning-bearing patterns.²

11.1 INTRODUCTION

To the fore in Psalm 90 is the theme of time and eternity: eternity is defined by God's enduring existence which is contemporary to all generations. Human finitude constitutes an absolute dichotomy between humanity and God, yet in the experience of time there is a common element; for both parties time is fleeting; human beings experience the transience and brevity of life, God perceives time as insignificant. This is problematic for humanity, not per se, but because in the Psalmist's view human kind stands under the divine wrath by virtue of its sinfulness, and the divine wrath makes impossible the enjoyment of the allocated brief span of life. These intuitions about the Psalm now need to be tested, and the statement of them above gives the impression that the Psalm is a piece of philosophical reflection in verse - a totally inadequate appraisal. The meaning of the Psalm lies in its form and structure, which is a complex interaction of the phonological, lexico-grammatic and semantic.

11.2 THE LEXIS AND GRAMMAR OF THE PSALM

11.2.1 LEXICAL GROUPS

11.2.1.1 Strongly foregrounded in the Psalm is the lexis of time. Indeed, it is obsessional, especially in its repetition of two or three basic units of time-measurement. Present also is another

kind of lexis juxtaposed with the temporal: for want of a better term I call it the moral. Here the concern is with the divine displeasure and the possibility of the Good Life for sinful human beings. In Table 1 is displayed the two kinds of lexis and their distribution.

TABLE 11.1: LEXICAL GROUPS AND DISTRIBUTION

TEMPORAL			MORAL	
PERMANENCY	UNITS OF TIME	IMPERMANENCY OTHER	-	+
1 Lord dwelling-place	generation to generation			
2 ← mountains - - - -	- earth, world →	before		
God	*age to age	turn man dust return, children of man		
3				
4	1000 years	pass		
5	*a day of yesterday watch in the night	(sweep sleep (become grass renew flourish renew fade wither *come to an end		
6	morning			
7	morning evening			
8			anger *fury *terrify iniquities secret sins wrath	
9	days years	decline end sigh		
10	days of our years 70 years 80 years span	go-soon fly away	toil trouble	

Continued...

TABLE 11.1.1: LEXICAL GROUPS AND DISTRIBUTION (continued)

	TEMPORAL		MORAL	
	PERMANENCY	IMPERMANENCY UNITS OF TIME OTHER	-	+
11	Yahweh Lord our God establish establish	days morning days days years	anger wrath afflict evil	fear wisdom have pity satisfy steadfast love rejoice, be glad make glad work glorious power favour
12				
13				
14				
15				
16				
17				

*RSV renders otherwise

The lexis is impressively dithematic as Table 2 further demonstrates.

TABLE 11.2: LEXICAL GROUPS

			No
1.	<u>NOUNS</u>	<u>all nouns</u>	67
		time-units	24
		<u>impermanency</u>	
		other	12
		+	6
		<u>moral</u>	
		-	10
2.	<u>VERBS</u>	<u>all verbs</u>	37
		<u>permanency</u>	2
		movement	6
		<u>impermanency</u>	
		decline	7
		+	5
		<u>moral</u>	
		-	2

There is little modification of nouns and verbs in the Psalm, and what there is is of note.

Some of the time unit nouns have quantifiers:

thousand/seventy/eighty + years (vv4, 10).

all + days (vv9, 14)

all of which underline the time motif. In addition, five of the occurrences of day/year have the possessive clitic '-enu', 'our', which introduces a note of pathos over against the objectively quantified time units (vv9, 10, 12).

The temporal lexis of permanency is small, but it is effective in creating the mood of transience with the other time words, since it forms an *inclusio* introducing and concluding the Psalm. At the beginning God is described as a dwelling-place who endures throughout successive generations and ages and who ante-dates even the hills and the earth. It is thus the divine eternity which is introduced as leading topic and it is under this categorisation that the divine is addressed throughout. In the conclusion to the Psalm there is an appeal to the one who is permanent to bestow a degree of permanency on what is unavoidably impermanent: the artefacts of human labour. This *inclusio* is both lexical and phonological:

1. lexical: Lord, 'dyn', is used only at the beginning and end. At the end the nominal group is 'Lord our God', and 'God' occurs elsewhere only at v2c, near the beginning, in the second of the two verses establishing the divine eternity.

establish, kwn, foregrounded by repetition, has a degree of semantic affinity with 'dwelling-place': the feature of permanency.

generation etc. is echoed in 'their children' in the bicolon before the concluding one.

2. phonological: the on of 'ædonay ma^con (Lord, a dwelling-place) is echoed in the 'ædonay and konna/konnehu (established [it]) of v17 and reinforced by no^cam ('favour') and the large numbers of 'n's (eleven in all). Phonological devices work best in proximity but the effect of an inclusio is to unite beginning and end, and familiarity with recitation of the Psalm would reveal these.

11.2.1.2 The measurements of time can be grouped into a meronymy

IMPRECISE age x 2 (ᵑwlm RSV 'everlasting')

LARGE

 generation x 2

 year x 6

 day x 6 yesterday

PRECISE/ _____

SHORT morning x 2 evening night watch

Notice the importance of repetition here. This time-unit lexis is all pervasive, vv1-15, and only disappears in the last two verses 16-17, where there is the urgent plea for the Good Life with some measure of permanence.

11.2.2 Time also dominates Theme selection (first non-structural element in clause). In verse thematic organisation (functional sentence perspective) is complicated by the relationship of clause to strophic arrangement, e.g. a pause after a first member may give prominence in an additional place in a clause. However, if we analyse as usual, it is clear how many of the Themes relate to the temporal dimension (some are in doubt, as it is not clear in places how the text should be arranged).

TABLE 11.3: THEMES: TIME LEXIS

<u>Subject as Theme</u>		<u>Verb as Theme</u>	
1.	for a thousand years	7.	we-come to an end (RSV 'are consumed')
9.	for all our days		
10.	the days of our years	9.	we-end (RSV 'come to an end')
10.	and their span	10.	they-are soon gone
<u>Complement as Theme</u>		<u>Adjunct as Theme</u>	
1.	Lord, a dwelling-place (not RSV)	2.	from everlasting to ever- lasting
5.	a dream (?)	4.	a watch in the night(?)
12.	to number our days (not RSV)	6.	in the morning(?)
		6.	in the evening

The Themes are evenly distributed, vv1-12 (2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10,

12) and account for about 65 percent of themes in this section. After v12 they 'give way' to the non-temporal motif.

11.2.3 Four of the above Themes are adjuncts and of some twenty-five adjuncts the majority comprise Place and Time.

11.2.3.1 The Time Adjuncts, of which there are eight expressing location or duration, need no comment other than to note the threefold occurrence of 'in the morning', vv5-6, 14). In the passage describing the rapid transit of time, 'yesterday' and 'night' are used as comparisons - they express what is recently and irrevocably past, and likewise 'in the evening', v6, marks the end of a period of time. In contrast 'morning' inevitably marks newness, a fresh start both in v6, when the grass springs up, and in v14a, where human beings would long to experience anew the divine goodness marking a new epoch. It is the third occurrence which is interesting at v5b. If we put it with the following clause there is no problem, but if with the NEB we attach it to the previous clause, 'they are like a dream at daybreak' (Hebrew 'like a dream they become in the morning'), the time of morning is now the point of realisation of the brevity of life: the hours of sleep have passed as a twinkling of the eye; so pass human lives (or a thousand years). In this way juxtaposed are two different uses of the time adjunct: looking back with anguish and looking forward with hope.

11.2.3.2 The Place Adjuncts have the following characteristics:

TABLE 11.4: PLACE ADJUNCTS

<u>Location</u>	<u>Goal</u>
1. in all generations	3. to dust
4. in your sight	12. to a heart of wisdom (not RSV)
7. in your anger (RSV 'by')	
in your wrath (RSV 'by')	
8. before you	
is the light of your face	
9. in your wrath (RSV 'under')	
13. on your servants	
16. to your servants	
on their children (RSV 'to')	
17. on us	
on us	

1. They are all prepositional phrases: and the embedded nominal refers

(a) to God directly or metonymically
or (b) to the petitioners in some way.

2. The location adjuncts may be divided thus:

- (a) those concerned with the problem of the divine wrath:
human beings in the presence of God.
- (b) those concerned with securing the favourable
disposition of God.

3. The two lone place adjuncts: Goal encompass the theme of the Psalm: a human destiny which need not beget pessimism and despair. Wisdom can co-exist with mortality.

11.2.4 The overall effect of this density of temporal lexis interwoven with moral lexis is to create two pairs of polarities which are intimately related: divine eternity-human transience and divine wrath-human sinfulness, polarities which the foregrounded series of verbs: imperative mood, vv12-end, attempt to resolve, not philosophically, but by the plaintiffs throwing themselves on the divine mercy.

11.2.4.1 The temporal polarity is sounded in the first bicolon, which probably functions as a heading to the Psalm.

Lord: a dwelling-place ← → from generation to generation

This is then heightened by a juxtaposing of the divine, not with the human, but with the non-human: mountains, earth and world, those aspects of the created order which in creation myths predate humanity and are synonymous with great age and venerable

antiquity. Yet even their apparent permanence is belittled by the use of the temporal clause 'before ...' to define the divine existence; as we would say, 'before time began.' The poet is here alluding to a device common to ancient Near Eastern creation texts: (**compare** Proverbs 8:22ff, in which the existence of all the created order is serially negated in order to focus on the god. The tension between what is inherently permanent and what is only apparently so continues into v3: the dust is a reminder of human mortality and is yet itself abiding, but, of course, it is the very stuff of the hills and the earth whose existence cannot compare with God's. It is possible to see an allusion here to Genesis 3:19b, or at least to a way of thinking evidenced in both texts. Lexically 'return', šwb³, is common to both, but Genesis 3 uses the common word for 'dust', ʕpr, whereas the Psalm has a hapax legomenon dkk, usually derived from the verb dk, 'to crush', 'pulverise'⁴. If this feature of crushing, of violent action, is present in the noun, then the choice of such a rare word could be a pointer to the poet's feelings (lexical modality) and would link with zrm, 'flood away', 'sweep away', at v5, also expressive of violence. (There is likewise a lexis of violence associated with the moral motif: bhl 'be dismayed', 'terrified' (RSV captures it with 'overwhelmed'); klh 'come to an end', v7; ʕnh, 'be afflicted', v15). It is possible that v3 sounds the moral polarity too, since in Genesis 3 the return to dust is associated with the divine displeasure (it comes in the ensuing speech), though in Genesis 3 it is not unequivocally a consequence of the act of disobedience. If this were so, vv1-3 would state

the polarities seen as one, and vv4-12 explore them further (rather than allocating (a) vv2-6 to the temporal, and (b) vv7-12 to the moral). Moreover, the 'dust' motif would draw the grass imagery of vv5-6 into its field, so that the grass would trigger not only brevity but brevity and wrath.

There is a nice linking of two uses of 'return' at vv3b and 13a.

3b 'Return' imperative + vocative

13b 'Return' imperative (emphatic) + vocative

v3b is the only instance of divine speech in Psalm 90; v13a introduces the urgent human response after the section of reflection. One is a sentence of death, the other a plea for life.

11.2.4.2 The skilful manipulation of lexis continues with the concentrated imagery of vv4-6. The belittling of what seems to the human mind to be permanent or temporally immense is at work in v4. It is not clear where the image finishes. The clitic object pronoun in 'you-sweep-THEM (RSV 'men') away' is usually referred to 'children of men', v3, but anaphorically it is easier to refer it to 'a thousand years' as does NEB. This ought then to mean that the grass imagery is also descriptive of the passage of time; the normal usage elsewhere makes it a symbol of the brevity of human life, but that should not be overriding. I do not find it easy to decide. However, the normal translations allow an

image which can move in different directions: human-beings experience their life as sleep: it seems as nothing; and human beings are destined to enter into a permanent state only at death (the common idiom of sleep as a metaphor for death). There is a pathetic irony in this case. We saw something similar in the use of 'in the morning', vv5, if it is attached to the preceding clause, so contrasting in its perspective with the forward-looking and hopeful uses of vv6a and 14a. Of all the images, vv1-6, that of 'sweeping away' and 'dust' (if 'crush' is a semantic feature of dkk) are most modal, perceiving in the fate of human beings something violent and something inexorable and irresistible.

11.2.4.3 In vv 7-11 the human standing coram dei is further detailed: mortal human beings are sinful and experience the divine presence as wrath, and so they know discomfort and terror. Life is felt to be toil and trouble. v9 links the two kinds of polarity adroitly by pairing 'in your fury' with 'like a sigh'. The psalmist prevents us understanding the problem of human ephemerality as a philosophical or biological problem: it is at heart theological. Thus vv7-8 are linked to vv1-6 by a structurally weak 'for', ky: it is neither a kind of parataxical 'and' nor a hypotaxical 'because'. It encourages the reader to view the two polarities together without the precise intersemantic relationship being defined. Human transience and divine wrath are connected, but not in a mechanical way. Indeed the poet does not dwell on human sin (only v8). The existential problem he explores is not to be trivialised with a simplistic

answer.

11.2.4.4 It is worth making an observation about the transitivity pattern of the Psalm here, since fifteen of the twenty intransitive verbs occur in vv1-10. There are fifteen transitive verbs in toto, of which only four are found here. These intransitive verbs are chiefly verbs of movement and decline. The passage of time produces nothing; there is only this constant passing away of things. Hence the pathetic reiterated cry at the end of the Psalm: 'Establish thou the work of our hands'

11.2.4.5 A pointer to the function of the last section, vv13-17, is the use of mood in the Psalm. vv1-11 are chiefly indicative: declarative with one indicative:interrogative and one imperative. vv12-17 have a series of nine verbs in the imperative mood (ten if we count the clause in v16b, which has verb-gapping). All the four remaining verbs occur in syntactic positions of dependency. Thus 75 percent of this latter section is mood:imperative. This constitutes the reaction to the polarity contemplated previously. It is not an appeal to God to lengthen human life, nor a reproaching of him for 'bothering' a creature with so insignificant a life-span. It is an appeal that human life be 'sweetened'; that some permanency be granted to its achievements. The desire to experience the divine 'loving kindness' (ḥsd), 'work', 'glorious power', 'favour', is a desire to experience the salvation of God. On the human side this will be experienced as satisfaction and joy. Only in this section do purpose clauses

appear: v12b, 14b, (two coordinated verbs) dependent on imperatives addressed to God and highlighting human dependency on God for the Good Life. Among the vocabulary belonging to the subcategory of the divine pleasure, 'steadfast love', hsd, stands out initially because it looks like a polarity counterpart to wrath, so positing a dichotomy within the divine. From its use elsewhere, however, some kind of translation such as 'faithful love' is required, since it has the feature of a love which is committed, see Psalm 136, 'for his hsd endures for ever'. Thus far from belonging simply to the positive axis of divine pleasure and being in some sense time-conditioned, i.e. it ebbs and flows according to the human response to God, its use elsewhere suggests we should see it as an enduring and unfailing quality or, better, attitude, which constitutes the basis of the petition. This, however, may be allowing other texts to influence this one unduly. The word occurs only once; however it is separated by several clauses from the other words indicative of divine salvation, vv16-17, and so has a kind of pre-eminence. It is on the basis of hsd that the community can cry out 'Return Yahweh'.

11.3 STRUCTURE

11.3.1 In the explanation of the Psalm's lexical motifs we have allowed the Psalm to fall roughly into two sections, vv1-10 and vv13-17, with the precise status of vv11 and 12 undefined. I now want to look at the macrostructure in greater detail and comment

on problem areas. I will argue for the following structure:

1-10	statement of the twin polarities
11-12	bridge passage
13-17	response

11.3.2.1 v1 encompasses the whole theme of the Psalm: God is there for every generation as a locus of permanence and security. With v17 it forms an inclusio, albeit a subtle one, depending on phonological and semantic effects. It is unusually rendered as a bicolon.

Loírd, a dwelling-place you have been for ús	4
from generation to generation	2

The short line serves to emphasise the time adjunct and thus the theme of the Psalm: the divine permanence. It might be possible to render it in other ways, e.g. a tricolon.

Loírd, a dwelling-place	2
You have been f6r us	2
from generation to generation	2

Though the time adjunct still has end-focus, the focus is now more diffused and picks out 'dwelling-place' and 'for us' not inappropriately.

11.3.2.2 In v2 the grammatical patterning of 2a, b, viz.

NOUN (masculine plural)	VERB (qtl masculine plural)
VERB (yqtl feminine singular)	NOUN (feminine singular) + NOUN (feminine singular)

is strongly cohesive by dint of chiasmus and grammatical opposition and contrasts strongly with V2c, whose grammatical constituency is different.

11.3.2.3 Although in v3 the major English Versions agree in translating tšb as a simple present, the form is problematic in Hebrew, being jussive, so other translations are possible: you returned man back to dust and said... which sounds as if it is referring to a signal event in the past (v2 had referred to the creation of the physical world). LXX has 'do not turn' (it presupposes 'al = not for 'el = God in v2). More fully, Do not turn man back to dust but (= and) you said ..., i.e. a plea to the deity which is rejected. This would anticipate v13, 'Return, O Lord', another plea to the deity, this time positive polarity. Since ultimately human destiny is unalterable, only the divine attitude to the community in this life can possibly be changed. Whichever we prefer, the quoted speech has a certain distinctness, making it formal and juxtaposing the divine immutability, v2, and human mutability.

11.3.2.4 I would render vv4-5a as:

for a thousand years in your sight	3
are as a day of yesterday when it passes	3
and as a watch in the night: you sweep them away	3
they become sleep in the morning	3

In favour of this:

1. Anaphorically it is easier to refer the clitic 'them' (-am) to 'years' than to 'sons of men'.
2. 'Sleep' collocates slightly better with 'watch in the night' and 'yesterday' as an image of something seemingly brief and quickly past, and even more so with 'night', than it does with the morning-evening lexis.
3. There is a gender pattern of masc⁵ + fem - masc + masc - fem + fem - feminine + masc.
4. The fourth line includes the time adjunct; it forms a fitting climax to the series of comparisons and produces an effect of pathos.
5. The image of years being swept away by God evinces a divine experience of time which is not simply passive but active in actually effecting its speedy passage.

It is not so easy to place 'in the morning' and it can fit in both parts. In favour of RSV: time adjuncts of this ilk usually precede the verb (a weak argument) and the twofold repetition of the adjunct in the grass image is not ineffective. Just as it may be poetically effective to let 'them' be ambiguous, so likewise 'grass', allowing both to refer to humanity and time, since the latter is a marked feature of the definition of the former.

11.3.2.5 vv7-8 introduce the wrath-iniquity polarity and vv9-10 conclude the section as a whole by interweaving the temporal and moral/theological motifs. There is a phonological device at work, vv7-9,

7a	- <u>nu</u>	- <u>eka</u>
b	- <u>ka</u>	- <u>nu</u>
8a	- <u>nu</u>	- <u>eka</u>
b	- <u>nu</u>	- <u>eka</u>
9a	- <u>nu</u> - <u>nu</u>	- <u>eka</u>
b	- <u>nu</u> - <u>nu</u>	* <u>e</u>

vv7-8 establish a pattern of alternating -nu and -(e)ka: in v7 it is chiasmic, in v8 serial. Thus at v9b where there is 'e', 'eka' is expected: v9 seems to be following v8 but with a twofold '-nu'. However, the predominate end rhyme with -eka is absent here. The break with the pattern and the parallelism with 'in your fury' gives a strong focus to 'like a sigh': human life is

not only unpleasant but brief as well - no allowance is made. Once again there is pathos, this time in the choice of image: the sigh juxtaposing the features of fleetingness and of a strong emotion which can be hope or despair.

11.3.2.6 Section 1-10 has other indicators of its unity over against the other major section: the transitivity pattern privileges intransitivity (11.2.4.4) and ten out of thirteen subjects = Patient occur here. It is overwhelmingly mood indicative:declarative, and at least twelve of the twenty verbs express the present of general truth, a feature reinforced by the four relational(:verbless) clauses. This accounts for the strong reflective feel of the section, albeit not detached reflection but impassioned. It is difficult in view of this to define the tense status of the five qtl (perfect) forms, vv7-9; do they refer to past events or are they also gnomic? Their concentration here with no contrasting yqtl (imperfect) forms as elsewhere in the section for poetic effect suggests they should be given past reference. It will be seen later that this bears on the genre of the Psalm.

The bridge passage will be deferred until after the discussion of vv13-17.

11.3.3 vv13-17 are characterised by their eight imperatives (six direct and two indirect). The second person imperatives enclose the third person, giving a 4-2-2 pattern, so that the reappearance

of the second person in the last two lines brings the Psalm to a conclusion on a strong note of urgency. The section begins in a similar tone

Please return, Yahweh. How long?
and take pity on your servants.

The emphatic imperative, šwbh, the first vocative for thirteen verses and employing the sacred tetragrammaton, yhwh, and a verbless clause (just an interrogative adverb), produce a strongly modalised utterance, and the staccato effect of the grammar is highlighted by the simple, smooth-flowing clause which ensues.

The concluding lines gain their effect not only by the return of the second person imperative, the first of which is also emphatic, but by other devices too.

the artefacts of our hands please-establish upon us
the artefacts of our hands establish-them upon us

[I have chosen 'artefact' here to show that the Hebrew is using a different word from the one in v16a, also rendered 'work' in RSV].

Noun + Noun	Verb - clitic	PP = Adjunct of Place
Noun + Noun	Verb - clitic	Ø

The repetition reveals the urgency, but it is not slavish

repetition. The marked complement is repeated unchanged but the clitic changes: in the second line it is pronominal and anaphoric to the complement, so picking up the topic again. The place adjunct is omitted second time round producing a 4:3 rhythm and a figure called pivot parallelism.

There are only two qtl (perfect) forms in the section, and they are undoubtedly past, not gnomic.

v15 Make us glad as many days as thou hast afflicted us
and as many years as we have seen evil.

This would lend support to interpreting the perfects of vv7-9 as having past reference, since v15 would seem to be a reference back to vv7-9. Note how in the next line the verb 'see', r'h, is used again but with considerable grammatical contrast.

we have seen, <u>r'h</u>	let them work be manifest, <u>r'h</u>
qtl	yqtl
1st plural	3rd singular
qal	niphal

11.3.4 What of vv11-12? The English Versions distribute them differently, e.g. JB divides them between the two major sections, RSV makes them a unit. Other possibilities would be to attach them as a unit to what foregoes or follows. In favour of (1) 1-10 + 11 is the wrath lexis of vv7, 9a, and of (2) 12 + 13 + 17 is the

imperative, which links itself seemingly to the series of imperatives in vv13-17 (it has a purpose clause too, one of only three found in vv12-17). However, there are good reasons to keep them together as a transitional unit:

1. ydc ('know') is used in both bicola:

11a indicative yqtl 3rd sing qal RSV consider

12a imperative qtl 2nd sing hiphil RSV teach

2. There is a chiasmus in the syntactical structure:

11a Verb Complement (two units)

12a Complement (two units) Verb

3. Phonologically the two first half-lines echo each other:

11a od oz

12a ot od

The bridging function of vv11-12 is constituted by the following features:

vl1 → vv1-10

1. The rhetorical question is an apposite response to vv7-10 of section 1 and being the only interrogative

(conspicuously so as it is 'wh'), it seems to demand a certain stress and phrasing which marks it off from v10, which in itself is an appropriate conclusion to its section.

2. The wrath lexis secures its orientation to vv1-10.

v12 → vv13-17

3. v13 with its strongly modalised utterance surely marks a division.
4. The imperative of v12 is not first place in the clause as all the others are, but it anticipates the mood (in both senses) of vv13-17. Note how the petition here is for a wise heart, not something material, thus guiding our understanding of the rest of the petition.
5. The time motif picks up the theme of section 1 and with the wrath motif of v11 the two bicola concisely express the twin polarities.

11.4 REGISTER AND TYPE

11.4.1. The Psalm is clearly addressed to God. The pronoun distribution and person illustrate this.

TABLE 11.5: 1ST/2ND PERSON PRONOUNS (INDEPENDENT, CLITIC, MORPHOLOGICAL)

	Subj	Obj	Possessive
2nd pers sing (God)	8	-	13
1st pers pl	8	5	10

The 2nd person is evenly distributed throughout; the 1st person (speaking rôle) is found predominantly v7 onward. In vv1-6 the speakers identify themselves with the human collective: generations, man, children of men. Note how God is not object of a verb. Much of the Psalm (v7 onwards) is grammatically marked by this we-you/you-we axis which is very noticeable phonologically: the abundance of -eka and -nu clitics.

11.4.2. Monologue can be seen as aping a true exchange, since the speaker will allow the shape of the discourse to be influenced by imagined responses by the addressed party. We could define the structure thus:

	ACT	MOVE
1-10	Informative	Opening Move
11}	Starter	
}		Bound Opening
12}	Directive	
13-17b}	Directive	
}		Bound Opening
17c}	Prompt	

i.e., it could be viewed as a quasi-exchange in three moves or even one move: starter = informative + directive, i.e. vv1-12 act as a preface to the petition, vv13ff.

11.4.3 We can content ourselves with defining the register as prayer = petition at the moment. The tenor of the petition is shaped by two factors: the declarative reflection passage is built around a first person-second person axis, i.e. it is not purely first person or generic third person; the reflection is a stage on the way to somewhere else: an unabashed pounding at Heaven's door using imperatives, which the perpetrators try to soften a little with the twice used deferential 'thy servants', vv13b, 17a. The mode of communication is marked by the density of time lexis, especially units of time, and the moral vocabulary. Imagery, concentrated chiefly at vv4-6, though partly traditional, is powerful by dint of its density here and the wrought pathos. Persuasion of the deity is noticeable in the build-up, vv16-17a, to the conclusion, (v17b, already discussed).

let be manifest to your servants your work
 and your glorious power to their children
 and let be the favour of the Lord our God upon us.

a triad of divine qualities for the experience of which God is petitioned. 'Work' comes last in its half-line, 'glorious power' is initial, and 'the favour' etc. is second place in its clause, so that the triad uses all the positions of the clause. Then abruptly 'work of our hands' breaks off the mounting listing of the divine qualities which matter to human beings to link them to the object which they wish them to benefit; how abrupt this sounds after the rolling pious tone of vv16-17a.

11.4.4 Can we be more specific than 'prayer'? The Psalm is normally called a community lament (one-third of the Psalter is lament, chiefly laments of the Individual). There is no precise template for the form but common to all are at least some of the following elements.

<u>Invocation</u>	1-2
<u>Complaint</u>	7-9
<u>Motivation</u>	10
<u>Trust</u>	1, 14
<u>Petition</u>	12-17
<u>Assurance</u>	-
<u>Vow</u>	-

The major features appear to be present but note the absence of vv3-6 in the classification. Why? The kind of reflection in vv3-6 is more characteristic of a didactic Psalm or Psalm of the wise than a straight lament,⁶ and the extent of it (about 20 per cent of the Psalm) along with its conspicuous density of imagery and time lexis casts doubt upon the status of vv7-9. Is this too general reflection or specific reference to some disaster? We have given reasons for thinking the latter (no qtl/yqtl variation and the use of 'we have seen' at v15b), yet that is not entirely conclusive. If a calamity is referred to, it is much vaguer than is even normal, and it tempts to a universal reading: 'humanity under judgment', i.e. reflection on the human standing coram dei. It seems that we have here a psalmist of some talent who uses a traditional form to contemplate a universal situation. Part of the lament form is unequivocally present in the Psalm, which prevents us calling the Psalm gnomic or didactic.

CHAPTER 11

FOOTNOTES

1. For a defence and discussion of metre, see Watson (III 1984, pp. 87-113).
2. See footnote 4, p. 150 for an explanation.
3. This use of šwb is possibly liturgical. Compare Numbers 10 : 36.
4. Oesterley (III 1939 vol. 2, p. 406) glosses 'd dkk' as 'to destruction', 'crushing him to powder'. Compare the Aramaic idiom 'd dkk' meaning 'to a state of submission'.
5. Visually, šnh is masculine here by virtue of the plural marker.
6. Weiser (III 1962, p. 649) calls it a lament but also makes the wisdom connection.

CHAPTER 12

HUMAN MORTALITY (b)

confidence coram dei

PSALM 103

12.1 INTRODUCTION

The mood of Psalm 103 is quite different from the angst-motivated reflection and appeal of Psalm 90: the poet is 'high' with gratitude and praise for the boundless generosity of Yahweh. There is a grand simplicity in the movement of the Psalm.

1-5 the Psalmist exhorts his own soul to praise God and proceeds to motivate this by listing the divine acts of grace by which he has benefited.

6-18 the Psalmist moves from self as recipient of divine mercy to a contemplation of the nature and qualities of Yahweh for frail humanity.

19-22 the Psalmist, overwhelmed by the 'jouissance' of his observations, extends his exhortation to the whole created order to join with him in blessing Yahweh.

We shall see that this sectioning of the Psalm is borne out lexically and grammatically. As with Psalm 90, the lexis will be examined first.

12.2. THE LEXIS OF THE PSALM

12.2.1 TABLE 12.1: LEXICAL GROUPS AND DISTRIBUTION

BLESS ¹	DIVINE NAME ²	DIVINE QUALITIES ³	COVENANT/ WORSHIP ⁴	SIN/ MORTALITY ⁵
1. bless bless	Yahweh			
2. bless	Yahweh			
3.		benefits forgive heal		iniquities diseases
4.		redeem <u>hsd</u> <u>rh</u> <u>m</u>		pit
5.		goodness		
6.	Yahweh		<u>sdq</u> judgments	
7.			ways deeds	
8.	Yahweh	<u>rh</u> <u>m</u> <u>h</u> <u>nn</u> slow <u>hsd</u> to anger contend		
9.				
10.				sins iniquities
11.		<u>hsd</u>		
12.				trans- gressions
13.	Yahweh	<u>h</u> <u>nn</u> <u>h</u> <u>nn</u>		
14.				frame dust
15.				man grass flower of field
16.				
17.	Yahweh	<u>hsd</u>	<u>sdq</u>	

18.			covenant	
			command-	
			ments	
19.	Yahweh		heavens throne	
			kingdom rule	
20. bless	Yahweh		angels	
			word	
			word	
21. bless	Yahweh		hosts	
			will	
22. bless	Yahweh			
			dominion	
	bless	Yahweh		
<hr/>				
6	11	15	8 + 10	5 + 6
<hr/>				

KEY

- hsd steadfast love
- rh̄m mercy v4, merciful v8
- ṣdq vindication v6, righteousness v17
- h̄nn gracious v8, pities v13

The words in the table represent about 50 per cent of the lexis of the Psalm.

1. Columns 1 and 2 contain major instances of repetition: the former (bless) is concentrated at beginning and end, the latter (the divine name) is distributed throughout but with a considerable density towards the end. To the repetition of 'bless' and 'Yahweh' can be added the threefold use of 'soul', vv1-2a, 22c.

2. Columns 3-4 have the densest lexis.

Column 3. qualities and characteristics of the divine nature
described by a mixture of classes: 7 nouns, 3
modifiers, 5 verbs. Again repetition is important.

hsd x 4

hnn x 3

Column 4. Covenant/Lordship. All the members of this group
can be seen to relate.

3. Column 5 contains the lexis of the human state. There is an
obvious link with Psalm 90: the same image of human
transience but with the wind as the agent of annihilation,
not a natural process of wilting. The vocabulary of sin,
here slightly more numerous, is without the lexis of wrath.

12.2.2 We shall now look more closely at two aspects of lexical
cohesion.

12.2.1.1 LEXICAL COHESION: INCLUSIO

We can distinguish an inner and outer inclusio.

TABLE 12.2: STRUCTURE OF THE INCLUSIO

1a	bless	impv	Yahweh	my soul	voc		
b	(bless)	"				all	(Repetition)
2a	bless	"	Yahweh	my soul	voc		<u>k</u> -
b						all	Lordship
3a		ptc				all	over
b		"				all	Life & Death
19a							
b						all	
20a	bless	impv	Yahweh		voc		
b							Universal
c							
21a	bless	"	Yahweh		voc	all	<u>k</u> - Lordship
b							
22a	bless	"	Yahweh		voc	all	
b						<u>all</u>	
c	bless	"	Yahweh	my soul	voc.		(Repetition)

We can see at a glance how dense are the cohesive devices; I have included also the non-lexical ones. The outer/inner division is more marked at the end; however, at the beginning 'all' kl, and k alliteration attract vv3-5 to vv1-2 and v2b acts as a bridge with its imperative looking back and its nominal 'benefits', a heading for the ensuing lexis, looking forward. Both halves of the inclusio effect climaxes, the opening one a celebration of Yahweh's gracious victory over negative forces, the concluding one

a call to universal worship, and in between a plateau whereon to reflect on the divine activity with weak humanity, and it is from this plateau that we ascend even higher by means of the aforesaid concluding crescendo.

12.2.2.2 LEXICAL COLLOCATION: LIFE AND DEATH

If we look at vv3-5 as a whole, a kind of hyponymous polarity is evident.

<u>LIFE</u>	<u>DEATH</u>
who <u>forgives</u>	all your <u>iniquity</u>
who <u>heals</u>	all your <u>diseases</u>
who <u>redeems</u> your <u>life</u>	from the <u>pit</u>
who <u>crowns</u> you with	
<u>steadfast love and mercy</u>	
who <u>satisfies</u> your <u>life</u>	
<u>with goodness</u>	
<u>your youth is renewed</u>	

Within the text the 'life' pole is summed up as 'all his benefits', and in an impressive concatenation of participles the divine activity of rescue and salvation is traced from the victory over negative forces through to the enhancement and fulness of life which amounts to an experience of renewal. Notice how the death lexis ceases after v4a, and the nominals of negative polarity are replaced by nominals of opposite polarity in the

second member.

The same theme reappears at vv10-18 and is handled quite differently through a series of images.

LIFE

DEATH

he does not do for us

according to our sins

he does not requite upon us

according to our iniquities

[comparison] → his steadfast love

is great over

[comparison] → he distances

our transgressions

from us

[comparison] → Yahweh has mercy

on ...

he knows

our frame

is mindful

we are dust

man, his days are grass

[comparison: flower of the

field]

steadfast love

its place

but Yahweh's is eternal

upon ...

Here the acts of forgiveness, healing and redemption are grounded explicitly in love and mercy, which prevent the life-threatening force of sin from leading to their ultimate end. Thus on the

negative side there is a shift from what may lead to death but is baulked by Yahweh's love to what makes death inevitable: the human being is a creature of dust, and the lexis of action, chiefly verbs, is replaced by two mental words ('know' mental: cognition and 'mindful' zkwr ← zkr 'remember' mental: cognition): it is the remembered knowledge of human origin and destiny which ultimately determines the divine protection against threatening forces. The section concludes with a restatement and reaffirmation of the divine love which, being eternal, is available to every generation.

12.3 STRUCTURAL DIVISION

12.3.1 The intuitive division of the Psalm into three major sections 1-5, 6-18, 19-22, largely coincides with lexical features already discussed. This is especially marked in vv19-22 with the reappearance of bless (four times), the increased density of 'Yahweh' (five times), the 'kingdom' lexis and the renewed use of 'all'. The three metafunctions reveal how the grammar of these sections is respectively different.

12.3.2 TEXTUAL: THEMATIC ORDERINGTABLE 12.3: THEME STATISTICS

		<u>No. of</u>	<u>morphological form</u>				
SECTION	<u>No of themes</u>	<u>thematic verbs</u>	<u>of verb</u>				
			pf	impf	impv	ptc	infin- itive
1-5	9	9	-	-	-	3	5
6-18	19	9	3	2	-	1	3
19-22	6	6	-	-	4	2	-
<hr/>							
	34	24	3	2	7	8	3

The verb predominates as Theme, normal in prose, but less usual in verse with its greater syntactic flexibility. Imperatives and participles are conspicuous. Especially important for the structuring are the 'bless' imperatives, vv1-2a and 22c, forming the inclusio. The thematic nominalised participles, vv3-5, justify this opening, mood-setting exhortation, and its repetition at the very end is led up to crescendo-wise, vv20-21b, using a universal setting (vocatives). This multiplication of thematic 'bless' re-establishes the key-signature. The middle section is thematically varied and will receive attention when we look at it in detail.

12.3.3 INTERPERSONAL

12.3.3.1 We have already anticipated the importance of address in the Psalm: the imperative verbs envelop it in direct appeal to various parties:

1-2a, 22c the Psalmist's self (npš): three vocatives, 'my soul'.

20 the angels: one complex vocative, 'his angels', followed by an extended appositional nominal with two participial relative clauses.

21 the hosts: another complex vocative, 'all his hosts', with a nominal in apposition having one participial relative clause.

(The addressees of vv20-21 may be identical or the hosts could refer to the celestial bodies. The latter is more effective; otherwise we have an already elaborately described group further elaborated on.)

22 the whole created order: one vocative, 'all his works'.

Yahweh is never addressed but is always referred to in the third person. This makes the Psalm feel like a rehearsal for a great orchestrated act of universal praise.

12.3.3.2 The entire middle section of the Psalm, vv6-18, is mood indicative:declarative. Only here do relational clauses (verbless) appear, since here the focus is on a description of the divine nature: vv6, 8, 17. Two relational clauses describe humanity, vv14b, 15a. Thus the faithful eternal nature is aligned with a frail mortal nature. 'Yahweh' is overwhelmingly subject of verbs here. The seven non-'Yahweh' referring subjects occur in the comparisons vv11-13, vv15-16. A break-down of the chief parties present reveals:

TABLE 12.4: GRAMMATICAL ROLES OF CHIEF PARTIES

3rd sing (Yahweh)				2nd sing (self)				1st plural			
NAME				NAME							
<u>sub.j</u>	4	+	13	<u>Sub.j</u>	0	+	0	<u>Sub.j</u>	1		
<u>Obj</u>	6	+	0	<u>Obj</u>	-		1	<u>Obj</u>	0		
<u>Poss</u>	1	+	17	<u>Poss</u>	-		5	<u>Poss</u>	4		
<u>Voc</u>	-		-	<u>Voc</u>	3			<u>PP</u>	3		
<hr/>				<hr/>				<hr/>			
	11	+	30 = 41		3	+	6 = 9			8	

3rd singular = Yahweh is distributed throughout the Psalm, whereas the 2nd singular is confined to the inclusio (with three 2nd plurals leading up to the coda), and the 1st plural is found only vv10-14. Thus within the context of the references to Yahweh there is a pattern of other pronoun usages.

1-5	<u>Yahweh</u> - <u>you</u> (singular)
6-18	<u>Yahweh</u> - <u>various</u>
6-7	several 3rd pers parties
10-14	we
15-16	man
17-18	several 3rd pers parties
19-22	<u>Yahweh</u> - <u>you</u> (plural)
	<u>you</u> (singular)

The movement is from the highly specific 'you' (singular) to definite and indefinite 3rd person references and thence to the collective 'we' which passes over into the all inclusive 3rd person 'man'/'he', then some indefinite 3rd persons again and finally a return to highly specific reference in the 'you' form. Later on we shall relate this movement to the semantic level.

12.3.3.3 The concentration of 'you', vv3-5, and 'his', vv19-22, is reinforced by the phonological level. Examining 'you' first:

Verse	a-member	b-member
1.	-ki (verb) - <u>t</u> (<u>my</u>)	k-
2.	-ki (verb) - <u>t</u> (<u>my</u>)	-k- (verb) k-
3.	k- - <u>ki</u> (<u>your</u>)	k- <u>kt</u> (<u>your</u>)
4.	- <u>kt</u> (<u>your</u>)	- <u>kt</u> (<u>you</u>)
5.	- <u>kt</u> (<u>your</u>)	k- - <u>kt</u> (<u>your</u>)

This 'k' alliteration is reinforced by the fourfold 'k' of the important word 'all', kl, expressing universality. A gender patterning also seems to be at work, vv3-5 centred on the participle (masculine) and its complement (feminine) + feminine clitic possessive.

Verse	a-member		b-member	
	<u>ptc</u>	<u>complement</u>	<u>ptc</u>	<u>complement</u>
3.	masc	fem-fem	masc	fem-fem
4.	masc	fem-fem	1 _{masc} →	←fem
5.	masc	2(masc)-fem	3 _{fem} (finite)	fem-fem

1. There is a clitic object pronoun instead of a noun complement.
2. Probably corrupt as ᵑdyk 'ornaments' does not make sense.
3. Line 5b breaks the pattern not only here but at other levels as well:
 - a. The participle gives way to a finite form (impf).
 - b. The subject of the verb is no longer Yahweh = Actor, but 'youth' = Patient.

However, syntactically the line superficially resembles the **preceding** one, v5a.

5a verb (participle) + prepositional phrase + noun = object

5b verb (finite) + prepositional phrase + noun = subject

and even in v6a the pattern of vv3-5a is strong enough to influence the choice of theme: an active participle but without the definite article and functioning as a nomen agentis in a possessive construction, literally, 'a doing one of righteousness Yahweh'. The effect of v5b is to bring to an end the serialised description of Yahweh's victory over death with a suitable climax, since the end focus falls on youth, the very antitype to death, and the renewal of youth confines the successful outcome of Yahweh's intervention. It is possible that so strong is the participle pattern with Yahweh as implied subject that the reader will want to make Yahweh the subject of tthdš as though it read 'he renews', yhdš.

12.3.3.4 With clitic 'his', -w/yw, vv19-22 the phonological pattern is (it is already adumbrated vv17-18):

verse	a-member	b-member	c-member
17.	au (his)	o (his)	
18.	o o (his)	o au (his) o	
19.	o (his)	o (his) o	
20.	au (his)	o o o (his)	o o o (his)
21.	au (his)	au (his) o o o	
22.	au (his)	o o o (his)	

The pattern comprises a varying alternation of \bar{o}/au , and the repetitions o (his) activates other o sounds. However, the original k- pattern of vv1-5 reappears with the use once more of kl = all, and so along with the imperatives and vocatives recalls especially vv1-2 and to a lesser extent vv3-5, thus preparing for the final exhortation and completion of the psalmist's journey: a return to his starting point.

The fuller pattern with activated o and k (four of them in the important word 'all', kl).

Verse	a-member			b-member			c-member		
19.	-ky-	ki-	o	-ku-	o	kol			
20. -ku		-kau		-o-	ko-	-o-	-o-	-o-	-o-
21. -ku		kol	-au	-au		-o-	-o-		
22. -ku		kol	-au	kol		-o-	-o-	-o-	
	-ki								

12.3.4 IDEATIONAL

12.3.4.1 The sectional divisions identified coincide with the transitivity patterns.

TABLE 12.5: VERB ANALYSIS: TRANSITIVITY

	<u>Transitive</u>	<u>Intransitive</u>
1-5	8	1
6-18	4	11
19-22	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>
	19	13

i.e., intransitivity is almost entirely confined to the central section whilst transitivity belongs to the outer sections. In the central section eight of the fifteen verbs are naturally intransitive, three transitive used intransitively. The three stative verbs among the eight intransitives with subject = Carrier, vv11-12a, be-high, be-great, be-far (gbh, gbr, rhq), align themselves with the relational clauses where subject = Carrier. The effect of this intransitivity is to confine the focus to the verb (and subject). This is the section which deals with the divine nature and its manifestation in characteristic activity. In contrast vv3-5 focused on the object of divine activity: a human self, and the final stanza, vv19-22, re-echoes vv1-2 in making Yahweh object of the verb ('bless'). Of the seventeen subjects = Actor, Yahweh is Actor thirteen times; humanity only once, in a comparison, 15b.

12.3.4.2 Now this stretch of intransitivity coincides with the phenomenon of the preposition phrase(s) with 1 = for/to and c1

= upon.

TABLE 12.6: PREPOSITIONAL PHRASES WITH $l/\epsilon l$

6b	l	for all the oppressed	Beneficiary
7a	l	to Moses	Recipient
7b	l	to the Children of Israel	"
10a	l	to us	"
10b	ϵl	upon us	Locative
11b	ϵl	over those fearing him	"
13a	ϵl	on his children	"
13b	ϵl	on those fearing him	"
17a	ϵl	on those fearing him	"
17b	l	for children's children	Beneficiary
18a	l	for those keeping his covenant	"
18b	l	for those remembering to do his statutes	"

There is a considerable concentration of these adjuncts here (they are not core Participants and are somewhere on the borderline between Participants (inner) and Circumstantials (outer). The preposition ' l -' forms a kind of inclusio. Human beings are represented in all these adjuncts as the ultimate goal of the divine activity either as Beneficiaries/Recipients or as Locations. The divine action is the main focus with the human being shifted slightly out of the main field of focus.

The nominals in these adjuncts are in some way related over and above their being the goal of Yahweh's work. 'Moses' and 'the children of Israel' define the historical religious community to which the speaker belongs and its members are described specifically in covenantal language at vv18a,b. The oppressed of v6b could be any oppressed individuals, but the Psalmist immediately sets the expression alongside the bicolon designating the Israelite community, v7: he thinks of Yahweh's saving work in the past for the oppressed. 'Those fearing him' may mean God-fearers or those who hold to Yahweh's religion, i.e. to the covenant. What precedes and what follows favours the latter. The reflection on humanity, vv14-16, serves to highlight human transience, a consequence of human origin in a creative act with dust, and explains the generosity of Yahweh towards his wayward people. That rather than its functioning to designate the whole of humanity as an object of Yahweh's love? Some commentators sensing all these adjuncts as limiting and preventing a universal vision have wanted to eliminate vv11b, 13b, 17a, 18a, b. Only the latter three are suspicious from a metrical or line length angle. v17 seems overlong and v18 too short, but as our knowledge of metrics is severely limited, excision is nearly always a desperate remedy. The universal call to praise in v22a, b, presumably has to be motivated by an awareness on the part of those addressed, who are human, that all and everything enjoys the divine love (this is explicit in Psalm 104). It would weaken the thrust of the Psalm to limit 'works' to inanimate or non-human works. I think we should understand 'those fearing him' in a universal

sense, because such is the movement of the Psalm, and it does make better sense of the dust imagery. Even so, we still have a limitation; this is not the sun and the rain on the righteous and unrighteous.

12.3.4.3 Lastly, under the ideational heading TENSE is of great interest. Of the thirty-two verbs seventeen are untensed (seven imperatives, five participles and five infinitives). To the seventeen we may add the relational (verbless) clauses. There is left

9 perfects (qtl), vv10a, b, 11b, 12b, 13b, 14a, 16a, 19a, 19b.

6 imperfects (yqtl) vv5b, 7a, 9a, b, 15b, 16b.

Imperfects: vv5b, 7a are aspectual.

5b your youth begins to be renewed
or your youth is thus habitually renewed

7a he used to reveal his ways

vv9a, b, 15b, 16b are presents of general truth.

Perfects: definitely presents of general truth are vv11b, 14a, 16a, 19(a),b. The others could refer to specific occasions in the

past, an illustration of the general truth stated at vv8, 9. RSV uses the English simple present of general truth throughout, vv10-16.

12.4 THE ARTISTRY OF THE CENTRAL SECTION

12.4.1 This section has its own inclusio using a relational clause, vv6, 17-18. Both clauses have interesting features.

v6 1. As previously mentioned, the clause begins with a participle, which teasingly echoes the series, vv3-5.

2. There is strong cohesion between the stichoi owing to the device of a split construct.

a doer of righteous acts (is) Yahweh śh šdqwt yhw and
of judgements for all oppressed wmšptym lkl šwqym.

vv17-18

3. The series of l/śl adjuncts last occur in this bicolon with a concentration of four of them. The section comes to rest in a strong reaffirmation of Yahweh's love for human beings and those who are the goal of his love are specified. I am inclined to scan the text thus:

thematic series of four adjuncts thus acquires salience.

12.4.3. Impressive is the 'k' alliteration of vv10-16, so that we have 'k' giving phonological cohesion at three points in the Psalm, vv1-5, vv10-16 and vv19-22. Whereas the inclusio ones operate at the lexical-grammatical level with kl, 'all', brk, 'bless', and -ki, 'your', 'you', vv10-14 utilises the subordinator ky, 'for', and the preposition k-, 'like'.

verse	a-member	b-member
10.	ka-	ka-
11.	ky ki-	
12.	ki-	
13.	kə-	
14.	ky-	ku- ky
15.	ke-	kə- ke-
16.	ky-	-ki-

Beside ky and k- there are other 'k' sounds activated by them: in zkwr, v14b, 'mindful', kn, v15b, 'thus' and ykkyrnnw, v16b, 'recognise'.

The importance of the phenomenon lies in the coherence it gives to the imagery of this section: seven comparisons are made, three of which involve paired clauses. The pattern is strongly alliterative initially, only v15a breaks the sequence, and here we

have a disjunctive theme: 'as for man'. The pattern could easily have been maintained: the second constituent is an adjunct of comparison, so 'man' receives some emphasis. It is a topic change from Yahweh's love and pity to human frailty and mortality. Only in vv15-16 does Yahweh cease to be topic.

12.4.4 The three paired clauses of comparison are marked not only by initial 'k' but by the use of the infinitive in the first of the pairs. vv11 and 12 are both spatial images, v13 relational (human). Word pairs with strong collocation are used in the 'a' lines:

11a	for as	high-is	the heavens	over the earth
b		great-is	hislove	over those-fearing-him
12a	as	far-is	the east	from the west
b		he distances	from us	our transgressions
13a	as	pities	a father	(over) his children
b		pities	Yahweh	(over) those-fearing-him
	11a	heaven - earth		
	12a	east - west		
	13a	father - sons		

In each case the latter word of the pair is complement of a preposition. The lines pattern thus syntactically:

verse	a-member	b-member
11	verb + noun = subj + prepositional phrase	verb + noun = subj + prepositional phrase
12	verb + noun = subj + prepositional phrase	verb + prepositional phrase + noun = obj
13	verb + noun = subj + prepositional phrase	verb + noun = subj + prepositional phrase

Only 12b breaks the pattern. The noun collocations of the 'a' lines and the syntactic parallelism are conducive to binding the noun subjects and prepositional phrases of the 'b' lines internally:

11b his love - those-fearing-him

13b Yahweh - those-fearing-him

v12b differs not only in the reversed order of two elements and in the different syntactic function of one of them, but in having a pronoun rather than a noun in the prepositional phrase. Hence the binding would be

12b from us - our transgressions

Comparison, v11, is deceiving at first, since the spatial use of 'heaven' and 'earth' usually suggests a great, unbridgeable, qualitative distance. This is cancelled by 'steadfast love' in the next line, so we are forced then to understand על here 'over'

in the sense not of 'superior' but of overarching, i.e. embracing (RSV weakens the comparison by translating the same preposition differently in each half).

Comparison, v12, is unequivocal: here the distance is absolute. In v13 the prepositional complement has its original locative sense activated by the previous two prepositional phrases, so at one level all three are spatial comparisons. Whereas vv12 and 13 use the same verb in both halves but in morphologically different forms (non-finite - finite), v11 uses different verbs which are not unlike in sound, gbh, gbr, although the vowelling differs. This device obviously becomes apparent in rereading, once the pattern of vv12-13 has been observed.

12.4.5 v14 is interesting for two reasons, (a) it is not part of the series of comparisons. When it comes to defining humanity, no comparison is made initially, but an unequivocal, bald equation 'we are dust', literally 'dust we': (b) two devices especially bind the lines together: the conjunction 'ky' in both halves, and the initial and end standing emphatic pronouns which also rhyme with one another.

<u>ky</u>	<u>hw</u>	<u>yd^c</u>	<u>ysrnw</u>	<u>zkwr</u>	<u>ky</u>	<u>ɕpr</u>	<u>'nhnw</u>
for	He	knows	our	frame:	is	mindful	that dust are we

We noted earlier how the disjunctive theme 'man' introduced a new topic. vv15-16, contrary to the prevailing pattern of verbal

themes which has predominated recently, (vv11-13), have three non-verb themes. Further cohesion, vv15-16, is provided by grammatical patterning:

15a/b relational clause: verbless non-relational clause: verbed
16a/b qtl: qal fem sing yqtl: hiphil masc sing

12.5 SUMMARY OF COHESIVE DEVICES

It will now be useful to obtain an overall view of the most important cohesive devices in the Psalm. The following diagram features chiefly those devices responsible for a global structuring of the Psalm; a few of the more important ones with a more localised effect are also shown.

TABLE 12.7: COHESIVE DEVICES

GRAMMATICAL		LEXICAL		PHONOLOGICAL
1a	impv		ble ^s s Ya ^w eh	k
b		all (k ^l)		k
2a	impv		ble ^s s	k
b		all		k k
3a	ptc	all		k k
b	ptc	all		k k
4a	ptc			k
b	ptc		h ^s d r ^h m	k
5a	ptc			k
b				k
6a			Ya ^w eh	
b		all <u>l</u>		

Continued...

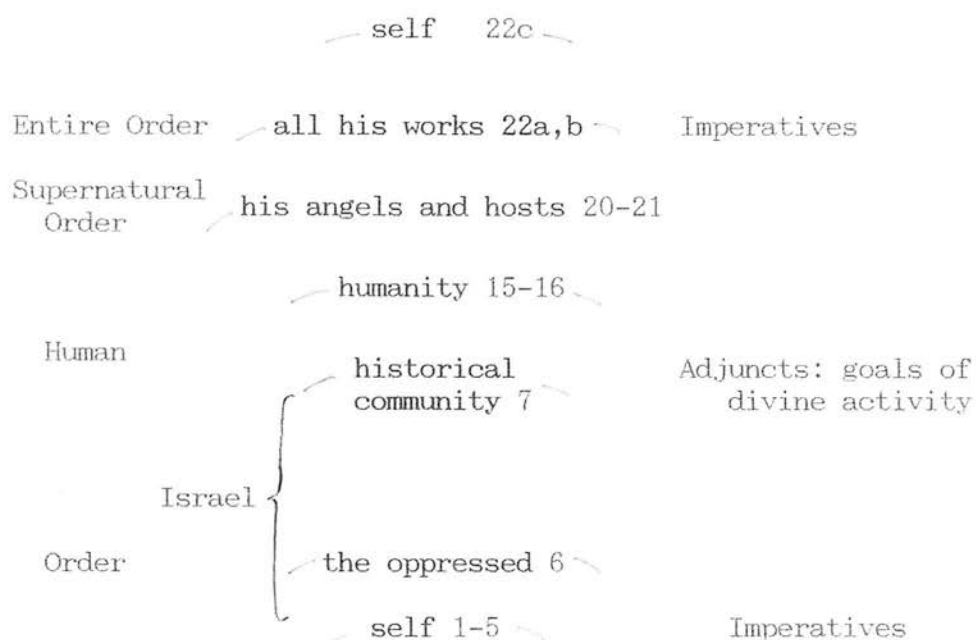
7a		<u>l</u>				
b		<u>l</u>				
8a			Yahweh	<u>rh</u> <u>m</u>	<u>hnn</u>	
b				<u>h</u> <u>s</u> <u>d</u>		
9a	negative	<u>yq</u> <u>ti</u>				
b	negative	<u>yq</u> <u>ti</u>				
10a	negative	<u>yq</u> <u>ti</u>				
b	negative	<u>yq</u> <u>ti</u>				
11a	k + infinitive	<u>cl</u>				k k
b		<u>cl</u>		<u>h</u> <u>s</u> <u>d</u>		
12a	k + infinitive					k
b						
13a	k + infinitive	<u>cl</u>		<u>hnn</u>		k
b		<u>cl</u>	Yahweh	<u>hnn</u>		
14a						k k
b						k
15a						k
b						k k
16a	<u>yq</u> <u>ti</u> (<u>q</u> <u>ti</u>)	<u>fc</u> <u>m</u>				k
b	<u>yq</u> <u>ti</u> (<u>h</u> <u>ph</u>)	<u>ma</u> <u>sc</u>				k
17a		<u>cl</u>	Yahweh	<u>h</u> <u>s</u> <u>d</u>		o o au
b		<u>l</u>				o
18a		<u>l</u>				o o
b		<u>l</u>				o au o
19a			Yahweh			k k o
b	all					k k o o
20a	impv		bless Yahweh			k k au
b						k o o o o
c						o o o
21a	impv	all	bless Yahweh			k k au
b						au o o
22a	impv	all	bless Yahweh			k k au o o o
b	all					k
c	impv		bless Yahweh			k

12.6 THE DYNAMICS OF PSALM 103

12.6.1 The Return to Self

The movement in the Psalm can be visualised in various ways:

(1) as an ever-widening network.



Here the self in identifying itself through its experience of suffering and of salvation with the oppressed moves into the sphere of the we = the community. However, this is a movement not from 'I' to 'we', but because the 'I' apostrophises itself, it is a movement from 'you' to 'we'. The movement presses forward beyond even the boundaries of the human community into heaven itself, where the self is emboldened to invite those who do Yahweh's word and will to praise and is consequently able to gather up the whole dynamic of the Psalm experienced in the objectified soul by calling upon the entire created order to bless Yahweh; and the movement concludes with a reminder of its origin: the self which has received the divine goodness. Yet it is not simply a return to the beginning: the self perceives itself not just as an individual which has known Yahweh's favour but as an experiencing individual within an immense community which cannot be limited for whom and upon whom is the divine favour.

(2) as a spoked circle



This has the advantage of relating the movement to Yahweh and showing all as 'equidistant' from him. However, it does not show how the self arrives after its journey through the Psalm at a point which offers a new perception.

12.6.2 The Psalm as a Discourse Directive

Because the Psalm presupposes an audience (witness the vocatives) it is possible to analyse it according to discourse moves.

<u>Opening Move</u>	1-2	Directive	my soul	Impv
	3-5	Comment		
<u>Bound Opening</u>	6	Starter		
	7	Informative		
<u>Bound Opening</u>	8-9	Starter		
	10-13	Informative		

14 Comment.

Continued...

Bound Opening 15-18 Informative

<u>Bound Opening</u>	19	Starter
----------------------	----	---------

20-21 Directive his messengers and Impv
hosts

<u>Bound Opening</u>	22a,b	Directive	all his works	Impv
----------------------	-------	-----------	---------------	------

Bound Opening 22c Directive my soul Impv

It is possible to regard all the bound opening moves in vv6-end as embedded within a supporting move = a verbal react to the opening move:directive, i.e. the Psalm itself is evidence of the successful directive, an imperative addressed to the self. Oddly enough, if seen this way, the speaker reiterates the directive, v22c, but this does not mean it has not been successful, but that the self must engage in habitual blessing of Yahweh.

12.7 REGISTER

A consideration of register will help us make the connection between the foregoing analysis and the purpose and nature of the Psalm.

12.7.1. Field

Blessing Yahweh for what he is and for what he does. However, as just pointed out, the Psalm cannot be regarded simply as an exhortation awaiting a response: it is in part its own response. What Yahweh is is highlighted by the carefully placed relational clauses, and what he does by the foregrounding of Yahweh as subject = Actor to the virtual exclusion of any other Actor. The transitivity pattern also serves this purpose, initially focusing on the results of his generosity and then through intransitivity shifting the focus to the verbs expressing his actions with Patients replaced by potential beneficiaries expressed in a foregrounded pattern of adjuncts.

12.7.2 Tenor

Although never addressed, Yahweh is the constant reference point, and he is related chiefly to the you = I and the we, who are completely subordinated to him as undeserving recipients. Throughout, the divine name is frequently used and the imperative inclusio has its origin in the experience of renewal, v5b.

12.7.3 Mode

The Psalmist wants to carry all with him, to persuade all to bless Yahweh through his conviction and enthusiasm, which shows itself in the use of repetition: brk, rh̄m, h̄nn, h̄sd, a lexis which

relates to Yahweh. Imagery, skillfully employed, aids the persuasion as does the phonological level with its foregrounding of sounds which strengthen the force of the imagery and pick out grammatical forms. All this amounts to personal witness, the knowledge of renewal by the divine activity, although it is not clear whether the history of vv33-5 refers to one event in the recent past or to a continual experience of such divine working. This ambiguity is important and affects the interpretation of the tenses, many of which are certainly gnomic with the status of the perfects in doubt. The Psalmist lets his soul 'run away' in the piling up of the participle clauses, of adjectives and of adjuncts expressing beneficiaries.

12.7.4 What kind of Psalm is this? Some think it a hymn, a personal thanksgiving.² Again there is no precise template but the following criteria help:

A <u>Hymn</u>	B <u>Thanksgiving</u>
1. Nature and works of God	1. Experienced deliverance of God
2. General	2. Specific
3. God: 3rd person	3. God: 2nd person
4. Experience of the community	4. Personal witness to others

The discussion above has shown A1-3 to be characteristic of the Psalm; B3 is certainly absent, but the presence of B1, 2 in the Psalm is uncertain whilst B4 is the driving force of the Psalm.

It seems pointless to fit the Psalm to either mould: it is the creation of someone who used the received forms with confidence and skillful originality under the pressure of strong motivation.

CONCLUDING POSTSCRIPT TO THE ANALYSES OF PSALMS 90 AND 103

The following aspects of the lexico-grammar of the two Psalms make an interesting comparison.

POINTS OF COMPARISON BETWEEN PSALMS 90/103

90	103
1. The Lexis relates to the <u>Temporal/moral dichotomy</u>	The Lexis relates to <u>Yahweh's nature and actions</u>
2. <u>Time units</u> foregrounded	Nominals expressing <u>positive divine qualities</u> foregrounded
3. <u>Verbs of movement</u> (literal & metaphoric) describing the passage of time and of human life.	Verbs describing the <u>divine activity</u>
4. <u>Imagery of time and process</u> : like yesterday/ a watch in the night; sweep away; like a dream; like grass.	<u>Imagery</u> : life cycle as Ps 90 (flower), otherwise <u>spatial figures of Yahweh's closeness</u> and sin's distancing
5. Adjuncts of <u>Time & of Place</u> (humanity under wrath)	<u>Beneficiaries</u> (some expressed as Location) in foregrounded pattern expressing <u>goal of divine favour</u>
6. <u>Intransitivity</u> vv1-10 focusing on <u>time</u>	<u>Intransitivity</u> vv6-18 focusing on <u>Yahweh's actions</u>
7. <u>Subject = Patient</u> (human beings) frequent	<u>Subject = Actor</u> (Yahweh) frequent
8. Yahweh always <u>2nd person</u> but only two vocatives referring to deity	Yahweh always <u>3rd person</u> with 11 uses of 'Yahweh' as vocative
9. <u>You (Yahweh) - we</u> orientation evenly balanced in pronoun distribution	<u>he (Yahweh) - you = I/we</u> orientation with pronoun distribution overwhelmingly weighted to Yahweh

10 declarative → imperative
movement

imperative → declarative →
imperative movement

Psalm 90 posits a strong temporal-moral polarity derived from the experience of the divine wrath and an acute awareness of human shortlivedness, whereas Psalm 103, although it deals with human sinfulness and transience, does not set up such a polarity but focuses entirely on the divine generosity. The image of human transience in Psalm 103 simply elaborates on the motivation of Yahweh's leniency with humankind and does not posit it as an existential problem. Likewise, although numerically the lexis of human sin and divine displeasure is similar in both Psalms, in Psalm 103 it is set firmly in the light of God's favour [who forgives your iniquity, not for ever does he contend, not according to our sins], so that the dark experience of Psalm 90 is scarcely adumbrated (103:9), because the psalmist gives the divine perspective. In Psalm 90 hṣd is known (v14) but is eclipsed by wrath; whereas Psalm 103 by repetition foregrounds the key twin qualities of hṣd and mercy, Psalm 90 mentions each only once (vv13, 14) and stresses rather the desired human experience of joy (vv14, 15). The knowledge of the divine favour in Psalm 90 is clearly derived from the historical awareness explicit in the opening lines: 'Lord, a dwelling-place you have been for us ...'. Note how it is expressed using the lexis of permanency not of personal quality: the two key statements about the divine nature in Psalm 90 made in Relational clauses concern God's eternity; in Psalm 103 such Relational clauses are concerned with his merciful qualities. Thus in Psalm 103 the awareness of the past is

elicited through the awareness of personal renewal by the divine goodness: this is how God has always been. There is a mood of timelessness in both Psalms (such that the interpretation of some of the perfects is not unequivocal), but in Psalm 90 it has to do with God's eternity and human impermanency, in Psalm 103 with God's never-failing generosity, solely. Although Psalm 90 posits a universal theme, it seems to be concerned in the petition section with the historical religious community (the we = your servants). Psalm 103 probably pushes out beyond the historical community of belief to the whole of humanity and beyond. It is not only the subjection to time which is common to humankind but also the subjection to the divine mercy. For both Psalms the beginning and end verses characterise their mood and theme.

Ps 90 Lord, a dwelling place ... establish the work of our Lord

Ps 103 Bless Yahweh bless Yahweh

Permanency and a desire for permanency against the outward movement of praise. The one moves from reflection to petition, the other from exhortation to exhortation via reflection. Both are interested in the general rather than the specific, and both elude assignment to the well-defined Psalm genres.

CHAPTER 12

FOOTNOTES

1. For the frequent qtl/yqtl contrast in Hebrew poetry and illustrated here in vv9-10 (which may be heightened by difference in conjugation as later in v16 [12.4.5]), see Watson (III 1984, pp. 279-280).
2. Like many others, Andersen (III 1972 vol 1, p. 712) sees it as a combination of hymn and thanksgiving.

PART III

CONCLUSION

CHAPTERS 13-14

CHAPTER 13

A REVIEW OF THE LINGUISTIC STYLISTIC METHOD

13.1 INTRODUCTION

A detailed analysis of linguistic features within the text has as one of its aims to cut beneath the generalisations, to get behind the metaphorical labels, of which the literary study of style makes such use.

(Spencer & Gregory in Ila Enkvist etc, eds,
1964, p. 91)

In the concluding chapters I propose to discuss

1. how useful a detailed, stylistic analysis of texts has been and how far it has facilitated any process of cutting beneath and getting behind impressions, intuitions and evaluations. (This chapter).
2. how stylistics relates to the other established biblical textual methodologies. (Chapter 14).

13.2 STYLISTICS: METHODOLOGY

13.2.1 Stylistics as a Way into the Text

Should one start with evaluation or with description? The norm would be to start out from evaluation, because it is hardly

possible to read or analyse without evaluating. Any attempt at pure description belongs to linguistic science. Otherwise, the stylistician, as every other interpreter of texts, must enter the hermeneutic circle and have a hypothesis about the whole, if descriptive analysis of the parts is to be anything more than mere accumulation of facts. But once the stylistician has hunches and intuitions, stylistics offers a useful way of probing the text for evidence. It is a rewarding way of processing and sifting, and as such is helpful to the novice, and indeed for anyone in the case of a text which seems to defy normal analysis or to provide no obvious hooks for one's interpretation.

13.2.2 Stylistics as a systematic approach

A good stylistics is systematic and rigorous in its analysis; it is not eclectic and haphazard in its appropriation of textual evidence. Systemic linguistics in particular encourages a systematic approach: the text can be carefully scanned at the various linguistic levels, and the metafunctions encourage an exhaustive examination of the linguistic data in a logical fashion, whilst at the same time enabling the analyst to make theoretically sound connections with the extra-textual contexts. Furthermore, as part of its disciplined approach, linguistic stylistics offers a carefully defined and delicate terminology to facilitate discussion of texts.

13.2.3 Stylistics as close-reading of texts

It follows that stylistics makes possible a detailed reading of texts which can be as delicate as the task requires. In its methodological thoroughness it will discover detail and pattern far in excess of what is usually needed and thus needs to be used with care and sensitivity. However, it is important not to be too selective and exclusive in the early stages of an analysis. Vendler (IIa 1966) makes two points relevant to close-reading.

1. A certain degree of delicate description can be useful in understanding the semantic effects of a text. She cites Keats' 'To Autumn' with its complex use of verb types in the first stanza, which linguistic description can identify.
2. However, Vendler warns against a description which is 'barbarous' in its abundance and presentation of detail. Vendler has in mind Sinclair's 'First Sight' analysis (IIa 1966), an early, 'non-evaluative' stylistic analysis. Fowler, mindful of this criticism, points out that Sinclair is capable of using linguistics in a more sparing fashion, where the linguistics is a 'controlled and rational handling of language and informs rather than overwhelms' (IIa Fowler 1966, pp. 158-159). 'Controlled and rational handling' is a good maxim. For the behind-the-scenes work superabundance of detail is

in order; in presentation one must offer only as much as is sufficient to prove one's case; the rest can be relegated to an appendix. Gunn in another context (a New Critical type approach) quotes Kitto who sets up the reader's patience as the touchstone:

'we must state, as a working hypothesis, the conclusion arrived at by induction, and show that it is confirmed by as many of the facts as the reader's patience may be presumed to endure. (III Gunn 1980, p. 137).

13.2.4 Stylistics as an aid for students

Stylistics is especially helpful for those students who find getting into a text and beginning the analysis of it difficult. It offers a grappling-hook and a means of discovery and of classifying data. However, it is a good tool for all students since it compels them to focus on the language of the passage rather than initially on the meaning and interpretation of the passage, a tendency to which theological students are prone. Once the linguistic palpability of the text is discerned, students' views (often deeply/existentially held) can be tested against the language rather than in confrontation with the lecturer or other students. Interpretations have thus to be related to the linguistic data and the discussion acquires focus. In my experience students do not need a course in linguistics to acquire

a grasp of stylistics. It can be learned as one proceeds with exegesis; one text will afford the opportunity to explain agency, another modality and so on. Once explained, the students are thus set to work in applying it to the text, so that theory and practice are intimately linked.

13.3 STYLISTICS: AIMS

13.3.1 Stylistics and Language

Stylistics makes possible an intelligent approach to language: it forces the analyst to take language seriously, not as a mere vehicle of content, but as constitutive of content. It discourages the common view of language aptly described by Macleod (IIa 1988, Anderson and Macleod, eds, p. 156), where one ignores 'relating to the form of a text and (sees) reading as simply the business of getting at and keeping hold of the paraphrasable content of the text.' Stylistics makes language tactile for the analyst, so that one feels, in Beckett's words, 'the jostle of the words in the mouth' rather than the more elusive taste of motifs and symbols. (Quoted IIb Shapiro, ed, 1984 p. 239).

13.3.2 Stylistics and the Facilitation of Interpretative

Discussion

'Surely we all wish to give an interpretation which stands

open to demonstration and argument, because it is based on features which can be pointed to and discussed, and because it is propounded in a descriptive terminology which is explicit as to detail and which avoids the affective fallacy.' (IIa Fowler 1971, p. 48).

Fowler makes two points here: 1., description as a basis of discussion and 2., a precise objective metalanguage in which to conduct the discussion. Hough (IIb 1969, pp. 79-80) speaks of three stages in the interpretation of a work: the reader's knowledge which leads to an intuitive pleasure; the critic's knowledge which has a pedagogic intention, and stylistic knowledge which leads to the solution of a problem. The first two kinds of knowledge are Fowler's 'affective', fallacious only when isolated from the language of the work. It is the stylistician's knowledge which leads out from the subjective into the realm not necessarily of the objective but into the all-important realm of public accountability and verifiability. Hough may be optimistic in speaking of a solution, but the very least one can expect of stylistic knowledge is insight into the relationship between interpretation and text.

13.3.3 Stylistics and the Bridging of the Evaluation-Descriptive Gap

13.3.3.1 This is at the very heart of the stylistic method.

If it is said (or if we feel) that this particular style is 'grand' or 'plain' or 'sinewy', in what particular respect does the language provide evidence of grandeur, plainness, or sinewy-ness? Are there linguistic correlates to the responses we experience and so label?... It is necessary to return time and again to the response, as it develops, to see whether more specific clues cannot be found and a more precise account of it given (Spencer and Gregory in IIa Enkvist etc, eds, 1964 p. 92).

And Thorne makes a similar point:

If terms like 'loose' or 'tense' or 'emphatic' ... have any significance, as descriptions of style - and surely they do - it must be because they relate to certain identifiable structural properties .. What the impressionistic terms of style are impressions of are types of grammatical structures. (IIa Thorne 1970, p. 188).

Systemic linguistics is ideally suited to investigate these claims because it views language as functional: 'grammar is not merely determined by purely formal restraints: there is a dialectic between formal restraints and the functional uses of language, and language is amenable to the latter, as the Neo-Firthian and Prague Schools argue, because language has evolved as a communicative instrument under the communicative restraint. Now it is true that there is a sense in which grammar is, in Fowler's words, a

'significant, if shifty index' (Ila Fowler 1981, p. 50), and there has been a naivety in the past of simple equation, but the task of matching the linguistics to the affective is not illegitimate providing one is operating in good Firthian fashion, i.e. contextually. Taylor (Ib 1981) reviews structural stylistics as practised by Bally, Jakobson, Riffaterre, Dillon, and sees them all struggling by virtue of their reductive method which privileges a theory of uniform intersubjectivity: we all experience the same effects in communication and these effects are present in the text. He concludes by advocating a different kind of notion which would consider

'that both our perception and interpretation of communicational events are heavily influenced by situational, experiential, emotional and social factors. In short, it needs to remember that in communication we remain individuals'. (Ibid, p. 107).

Taylor does not deal with systemic linguistics (he looks only at transformational grammar). Systemic linguistics is quintessentially contextual and public in the sense that texts have their origin in selections from various networks determined by extra-textual systems. Authors and readers are part of this social process which produces texts, so that any appeal to a form of mentalism (author's intention, reader's images) is not *prima facie* necessary. The response of the critic, I have argued, is essential to begin the analysis of a work and frequent reference

to the response is necessary; thereafter systemic linguistics enables the debate between readers to go public in the presence of a detailed description. However, I concede that the rôle of the reader as processor is problematic and much more work is required.

13.3.3.2 I can best illustrate where the stylistics I have employed stands by reference to Barry's criticism:

'In spite of the elaborate technicality of all this (Freeman's analysis of 'To Autumn') it offers no information not already available from a careful reading of the poem'. (IIa Barry 1988, p. 179).

He goes further than accusing stylistics of failure to illuminate; it is without any objective control, and he gives as a parody of the stylistic approach his own interpretation of a passage, claiming it exhibits a disjointed syntax mimetic of the agitation of the character whose behaviour is being described. In short Barry makes these accusations: (1) we need 'no ghost come from the depths of syntax' (ibid), to tell us things we know already: (2) anyway, the ghost is prone to tell us what we want to hear. We may indeed not need our syntactic ghost to tell us what we already know but surely we need him to tell us how we know these things. Halliday's classroom textual analysis practice meets this charge well: Halliday (Ia 1987) reads out a passage and gets the class to comment on the text; initially the responses are limited to Halliday's Levels 0 (motifs) and 1 (lexis);

students get down to Level 2, the overt grammar, and on further prompting they reach the ghostly realm of Level 3, the covert grammar of transitivity patterns, etc. In other words, Barry's knowledge is derived from levels 0 and 1, and only by the probe questions of 'How do you know?', 'Where do you get this from?', 'How is it related to the text?' does the grammar become relevant as a creator of the world of the text. In his parody Barry is criticising crude syntactic iconism. But one can still ask of the passage: Why this kind of grammatical organisation at this point? What is the clause arrangement sensitive to? And Barry is unfair, since a stylistician would want to see the passage in **context**. Gunn (III 1983, pp. 112-113) discusses a point of interpretation by Alter that a long series of chained verbs of which a character is subject in a particular narrative suggests '... a continuous whirl of purposeful activity'. Gunn counters that the same character elsewhere is subject of thirteen verbs of action within a short compass, yet the action takes place over a period of some weeks... 'Fumbling haste' or 'slow, methodical deliberation?' He concludes that texts must be interpreted 'by reference to the semiotics and syntax of the actual words or phrases together with appeal to the larger context.' And that is precisely my point: there can be no entry in a syntactical lexicon: extended series of chain verbs = concentrated activity. It is a question of how the syntax fits the context; one kind of context will activate the grammar in one way, another kind in a different way. Witness the 'Ecclesiastes' analysis which asked the question about the relationship between the marked transitivity features of the

selected passages and the fatalism theme of the work. This would be a claim that a predominance of intransitive verbs plus verbs normally transitive but here used without a Goal produces a certain effect in THIS passage, but not necessarily so in every work elsewhere where it appears.

13.3.4 Stylistics and the Undergrading of Literary Theory

'We are conscious of literary expressions which appear to transcend language: plot, character, personality, form in another sense... Yet all these expressions are communicated by linguistic means'. (R. A. Sayce quoted in IIa, Enkvist etc, eds, 1964 p. 62).

I believe that I have shown that it is not necessary to postulate an uncoupled, supra-linguistic level, as Bateson claimed, to account for the literariness of literature. All facets of literary theory and structuralism have tended to by-pass the text, one at a supra-linguistic level, the other at a universal level; New Criticism did engage with the text but without any systematic linguistics or notion of a wider contextualism. I have focused unfailingly on the text but as a linguistic artefact: in 'I Samuel' we saw how character is a linguistic construction; how in 'Genesis 27' the three main persons are characterised by kinds of lexis and verbal processes; how in 'Isaiah 53' the work and reception of the servant is rooted in an equivocal linguistic use of agency and in mental processes and modality respectively.

Longacre (Ib 1984) distinguishes two kinds of semantics: 'referential', and a semantics as 'the underside of grammar'. Literary criticism has chiefly operated with the referential model. The systemic approach articulates both kinds by dint of the metafunctions which interface between grammar and semiotics. If stylistics undergirds literary theory, it can also challenge the status of the object of its theorising, since it reveals all texts to be exponents of verbal art to differing degrees. Hence the clinal view is more apposite; there is no sudden leap into, or cut-off point for, literary language. Most of the texts chosen for analysis were at the literary end of the cline, but there is a certain degree of spread among them, e.g.

Deuteronomy	Ecclesiastes	II Samuel	
<hr style="width: 50%; margin-left: 0;"/>			} Increasing literary quality

Deuteronomy evinces a considerable manipulation of language even if it is not as subtle as in II Samuel, nor does it activate all levels, e.g. phonological as in the Psalms. Perhaps it is not the overthrow of literary language we seek **but** the redemption of ordinary language.

13.3.5 Stylistics and Textuality and Discourse

Stylistics makes textuality palpable. Halliday (Ia 1978, pp. 133-134) isolates three criteria of textuality: (1) generic structure, (2) structural cohesion, (3) non-structural cohesion.

The first takes us outside the text into culture: a text has situation, both in an immediate sense, the context of its production, and in a less immediate sense, the context of culture which determines the 'shape' of the innumerable contexts of life in a particular society. The other aspects of text have to do with the enabling of the linguistic structures so that they communicate. Text is a polyphony of the three metafunctions: the content (ideational) and the mood/modal (interpersonal) are not coded first, thereupon to have a textual structure imposed. The textual function is as integral to the selections in the lexico-grammar as the other functions. Theme-rheme and given-new (information structure) shape the changing perspective of the text in a structural way while the non-structural forms of cohesion weave intricate threads through the text. Much grammatical description has been at the level of the sentence. Anything beyond was commented on in an uncertain, random way. Bloomfield's 'whatever practical connection there may be between these three sentences (referring to a textual example) there is no grammatical arrangement uniting them into one larger form' (Ib Bloomfield 1933, p. 170) was an axiom for a long time. Systemic linguistics has provided stylistics with a linguistics of discourse. It is because Hebrew grammars are inadequate here that linguistic comments tend to focus on the sentence and fail to deal adequately with the overall linguistic (as opposed to rhetorical) structure of the discourse. The extra-sentential intersemantic level is crucial in textual analysis. The kind of work done by Hoey (Ia 1983) and Winter (Ia 1982) on the construction of texts in English

needs doing for Biblical Hebrew.

13.3.6 Stylistics and the Demystifying of Meaning

Stylistics offers a richer view of meaning without obfuscation. At the same time it points to the areas where further research is required, e.g. context of situation. Systemic stylistics sees meaning as a textual process: the text is the crystallisation of a whole complex of meaning levels.

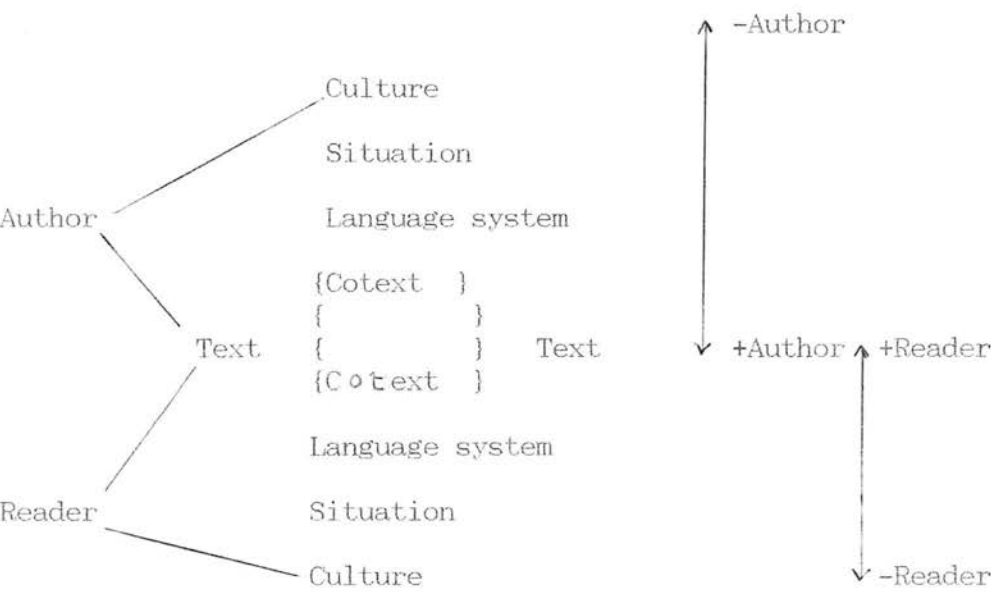
'...(Halliday) has embedded his linguistic theory in a general framework, whose origin is unabashedly sociological ... Halliday ... has really gone some way towards consistently relating linguistics to sociology. He has ... incorporated the social dimension into his linguistic theory and he holds that without it the nature of language and language development cannot be satisfactorily explained. Moreover, he has developed a number of bridging concepts such as system networks, metafunctions and register that face both "upwards" to the social structure and "downwards" to the linguistic system ... Halliday offers the outlines of a theory that relates language, situation and culture systemically.' (Ia Davidse 1987, p. 74).

It is no surprise, therefore, that some stylisticians have developed a critical linguistics which explores the ideological stance of the text and the way in which ideology working through

the linguistic networks creates a particular kind of world.¹

Below is a diagram to illustrate the relations of text and context, of writer and reader based on Firth's contexts.

DIAGRAM 13.1: THE DISPERSION OF MEANING



The diagram depicts Firth's dispersion of meaning among many levels. Since author and reader themselves are situated also in these contexts, it may be better to have a dispersed view of them as well rather than localising them either as +A (traditional intentional theories) or -A (structuralist theories), and -R (the reader of the realist novel tradition) or +R (affective theories). In fact the author has not figured as an important feature of linguistic stylistics, whereas the reader has². Since both author and reader are ideologically situated and socio-semantically constituted, meaning is primarily a social and public phenomenon;

otherwise not only stylistics but any kind of discussion would be impossible. What this kind of stylistics eschews is a mechanically inspired information theory view of writing and reading as encoding and decoding. This does scant justice to the Firthian notion of context. The reader has to grasp the 'implication of utterance', i.e. create a context for the text, and such contexts have less to do with encyclopaedic cultural knowledge of the world at simply the level of context of culture than to do with the famous Firthian context of situation. Hence it is difficult to minimize the reader's involvement in the process of meaning, and one can see how easily one can move in the direction of a committed affective stylistics. The reader's multi-levelled contextual situation has to engage with the text's also multi-levelled contextual situation.

13.3.7 Stylistics and Translation.

A systemic-based stylistics is of great use to the work of translation, because the systemic base relates the linguistic infra-structure to its contextual discourse function. It can, therefore, enable dynamic theories of translation, which essay to render the intention of the writer rather than give a literal translation, to counter subjectivism in their assessment of the intention of the text. The Rank system concept allows a translator to proceed methodically by a process of ever-widening contexts: the word in isolation, the word in group context, the group in clause context. The device of register can then be

employed to relate sentence level renderings to the wider context. Below I list some aspects of a linguistic stylistics in relation to translation.

1. Functional Sentence Perspective facilitates the evaluation of word order in the Source Language and Target Language, and its contribution to the meaning of the utterance. I have several times mentioned that RSV has not reflected marked thematic ordering in the Hebrew, although marked order would have been possible in English. For example, Deuteronomy 10:20 has a series of four injunctions all beginning with marked complement or complement/adjunct Themes. RSV reflects only one of these, NEB none of them. Clearly, the effect of the thematic patterning is cumulative in the original; the English renderings are tame in comparison. Shortly after, 10:22, another important arrangement of clause elements is not evaluated by either of these versions. The thematized 'seventy persons' is placed last in the RSV clause and fails to capture the inclusio it forms with 'as the stars of heaven for multitude.' Yet how easy it would have been to render

(as) seventy persons your fathers went down to Egypt and
now Yahweh your God has made you as the stars of heaven
for multitude.

RSV can be sensitive to the perspective and focus created by word-order as the twofold it-predication (clefting),

Deuteronomy 9:4, to capture the two adjunct themes, demonstrates. In 9:5 similar adjunct themes are reflected in the English without clefting.

2. Cohesion, especially of a lexical kind, is sometimes overlooked by RSV, e.g. Psalm 90:15b/16a. Here RSV does not reflect cohesion by repetition. Hebrew repeats r'h, 'see'. RSV has '...as we have seen evil' and 'Let thy work be manifest to thy servants'. The original varies the verbal form only: they have seen evil; now they want the divine salvation to be seen. Cohesive devices can be local, remote and global. The translator needs to be sensitive to them
3. Linguistic patterns should be rendered where meaning-bearing. In II Samuel 11-12 I explored the motif of dbr, 'thing'. Central to the pattern because it crystallises it are 11:25a and 11:27b. Yet RSV translates dbr differently in these two places.
4. Modality, the speaker's attitude to the utterance, can be expressed both lexically and grammatically, so that it is not only the choice of words which is important. In Deuteronomy 8-12, I commented on the deontic use of the imperfect as characteristic of this kind of discourse. RSV does not render consistently, using both imperative and an English deontic form with 'shall'. Consistency and a strongly modalised form would seem essential here.

13.4 I can best summarise the overall discussion so far by reproducing in summary form six of Barry's seven contentions with stylistics and making brief responses to each (IIa 1988, pp. 187-188).

1. Stylistics seldom goes beyond New Critical close-reading

Reply: It is indeed close-reading, but it is a close-reading informed and guided at all times by linguistic description of the most rigorous kind.

2. Linguistics is seldom necessary for literary interpretation

Reply: Because our intuitions are way ahead of our analytic powers we feel this way. But linguistics is necessary to explain these intuitions and the interpretations derived from them.

3. Stylistics is impressionistic with only vague 'rules', if rules at all.

Reply: Stylistics is impressionistic like all forms of interpretation, but it does have method to highlight and reduce impressionism; only an impossible scientific stylistics could avoid impressionism. There lurks here the fallacy of stylistics as a heuristic, procedural methodology,

a view inherited from the early days of linguistic stylistics and which remains to dog us now.

4. The rules of stylistics are not predictive and we need no more general principles.

Reply: The prediction principle, syntax feature $A = X$ in all texts, is an unwelcome legacy from the earlier years. What we are about is relating form and effect in a specific text and also relating this text to other texts with a similar configuration of linguistic features. And as for general principles, stylistics can offer some very useful ones, and it is irrelevant how many literary criticism has already.

5. Form and content are often related crudely

Reply: This is a criticism of the way the method may be applied, and the criticism is not limited to stylistic practice, as witness Barry's article on the 'enactment' fallacy in poetry re the relationship between phonology and meaning (IIb 1980).

6. Stylisticians put too much emphasis on the dictionary and see the full range of a word's meaning at play in a text.

Reply: A well-controlled Neo-Firthian stylistics should not be guilty of this, since meaning is an expression of context.

CHAPTER 13

FOOTNOTES

1. Roger Fowler is an exponent of 'critical linguistics'. See his essay 'Notes on Critical Linguistics' (Ia Steele etc., eds., vol 2, pp. 481-492). Examples of the application of such a stylistics can be found in Ib Fowler etc., eds., 1979.
2. A stylistics which focuses on the reader is known as an affective stylistics. Fish (IIa 1980b) and Riffaterre (IIa 1966, 1973) are two well-known exponents of this approach.

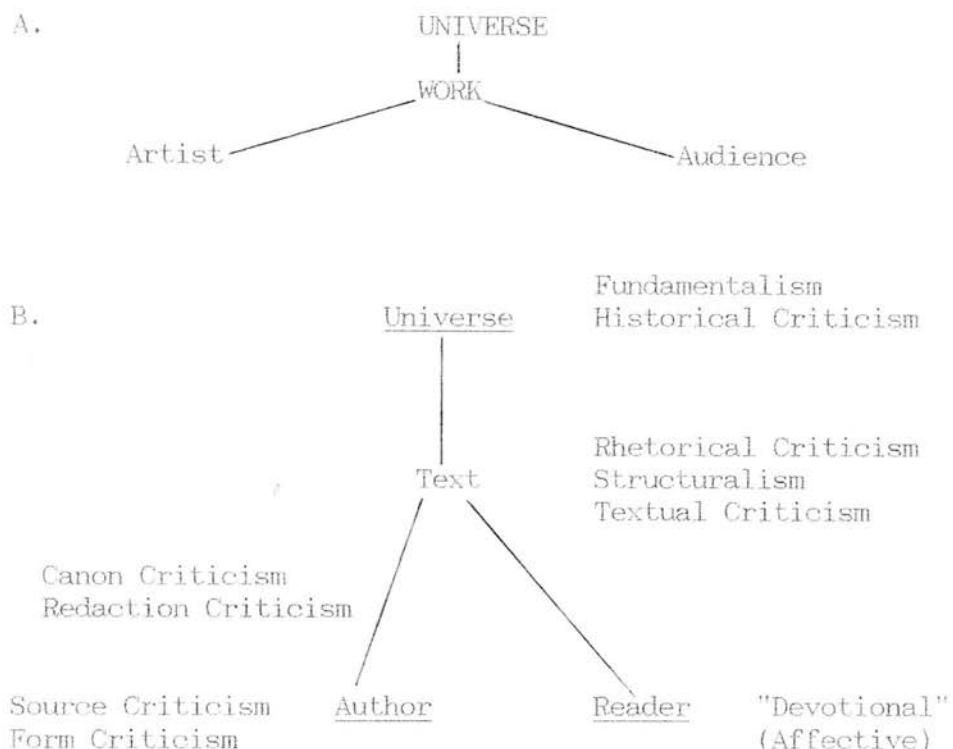
CHAPTER 14

STYLISTICS AND THE METHODOLOGIES OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM

14.1 INTRODUCTION

Is stylistics an imperialistic methodology which claims to supersede all other approaches to the text? The preceding chapter argues for stylistics as a praxis which takes language and its socio-semiotic origins seriously. Stylistics is a serious plea for an intelligent, systematic discussion of the language of texts. There is no reason why this should be imperialistic. In the biblical world canon criticism has tended to be exclusive, and biblical structuralism can be so too. In fact, all the biblical critical tools have been seen as rivalling as much as complementing one another. In his book 'The Mirror and the Lamp' Abrams uses a diagram to locate approaches to the text (IIb 1953, p. 6), and Barton takes this up and modifies it so as to locate the biblical methods (III 1984, p. 201). First of all I reproduce Abram's diagram with its three nodes concurring in the central node of work and then below my own version adapted to biblical exegesis.

DIAGRAM 14.1: EXEGETICAL LOCI



'Fundamentalist' and 'devotionalist' are obviously not critical tools but are included because they are two common and influential ways of reading the biblical text. The critical counterpart to the devotional, reader-response criticism, has made only a tentative appearance in the world of biblical criticism. Fundamentalism and historical criticism may seem strange bedfellows, but both are interested in the 'realist' aspect of the text; the former believes history can be read off directly from the Bible, the latter believes that the Bible does at times give access to history and certainly permits comparison with other historical sources. I hesitated about the location of canon criticism: its obvious focus on the text as we receive it and its

lack of interest in what lies behind the text suggest the Text mode; yet unlike rhetorical criticism/New Criticism the authority of the text lies outside itself in a community in which was present a canonical intention, and this aligns it with the Author mode. It is certainly such an intention which gives the text its meaning.

It should be noted that the nodes represent functional locations. Below I list Abram's function designations with some other well known equivalents.

TABLE 14.1: COMPARATIVE TABLE OF TEXTUAL FUNCTIONS

	<u>Abrams</u>	<u>Bühler¹</u>
UNIVERSE	mimetic	Darstellung (representative)
AUTHOR	expressive	Affekt (expressive)
READER	pragmatic	Appell (conative)
TEXT	objective	-
	<u>Jakobson²</u>	<u>Halliday³</u>
UNIVERSE	referential	ideational
AUTHOR	emotive	{interpersonal
READER	conative	
TEXT	poetic	textual

It should be remembered that Halliday's functions precede and underlie all other functions and are not mutually exclusive. Thus a conative or persuasive text is analysed in terms of all three metafunctions, although one may be privileged.

14.2 AUTHOR NODE

[Note on the term 'literary criticism'. 'Source criticism' and 'Literary criticism' are frequently interchangeable in biblical criticism, and although this is now misleading, it was not always so before New Criticism, when secular literary criticism was also strongly biographical and historical. Because 'literary criticism' is misleading, non-source-critical literary criticism is often called rhetorical criticism. Since rhetorical criticism as practiced resembles New Criticism, this is a narrowing of a useful term. However, I have decided to let 'rhetorical criticism' be, and keep 'literary criticism' in its old sense as a synonym for source criticism, since source criticism is more than the history of a text, as indicated shortly].

What characterises the two methods at this node is a strong diachronic dimension, a desire to get behind the text to earlier texts: source criticism, or to discover the communities and the use to which the communities put the texts, form criticism. Both, moreover, do have a synchronic component, especially form criticism. Source criticism, for example, will investigate the style of a work, albeit usually with a view to discovering criteria for source analysis; form criticism can ascertain the genre of a work as a whole and demonstrate how the subgenres contribute to the overall purpose.

14.2.1 FORM CRITICISM is an easier partner for stylistics, since some aspects of it resemble the register component of systemic stylistics. It goes back to the turn of the century and especially to Gunkel's work, and has tended to privilege the diachronic, especially with its investigation of oral tradition. Witness its well-known atomisation of works into a variety of subgenres presupposing an origin of the units in differing environments. The best known instance of this lies in the New Testament in the synoptic gospels (the string of pearls image with the attention rivetted on the pearls individually). However, form criticism has a strong interest in the social anchorage of a text and in the cultural factors which have shaped it, so that a vertical vector modifies the linear or diachronic vector of source criticism. Form criticism can be seen, therefore, as employing a concept similar to the Firthian notion of context of situation in the way it defines texts. Kessler (III 1982) sees form criticism as diachronic-synchronic: setting and genre, history and contemporary use. As such it mediates between source criticism and rhetorical criticism. Stylistics and form criticism share a concern for register and Gattung/genre respectively. Form criticism has set up a variety of criteria to identify genres, e.g. style, formulae, devices, structural organisation, content. Stylistics ought to be able to hone these literary critical criteria and introduce the notion of a constellation of lexico-grammatical features which characterises groups of texts. The triad of field, mode, tenor is a useful way to describe a text, so that the text can then be related to the grammatical

features via the metafunctions ultimately and to the cultural situation. Since biblical works often comprise many subgenres, e.g. as in the Prophetic books, the Psalter, the relation of subgenre to the controlling unity of the work is important. An obvious example of how a diachronic form criticism approach has yielded rich results is in Psalm classification. However, this generates a tension if left there. For example, the so-called 'royal psalms' no longer form a collection within the Psalter but are scattered throughout; some are obviously royal, e.g. Psalms 2, 21, 72, others only by virtue of a knowledge of royal ideology in Israel and elsewhere. It is important to respect the overall genre of the Psalter as some kind of cultic hymn collection. Of course, the Psalms present few difficulties in defining boundaries for analysis, since Psalms form subcollections or are obviously discrete. Stylistics and form criticism together can help define boundaries and justify intuitions about discreteness. The contribution of stylistics to form criticism is not dramatic. It can respect its aims and gently inform it, providing sharper focus in linguistic analysis and a richer view of how texts are related to their cultural environment.

14.2.2 SOURCE CRITICISM is problematic for stylistics. In source criticism the aesthetic form of a text is subordinated to the history of the text. Many scholars who use modern approaches have rejected source criticism: there is only one way to read a work: synchronically. An attempted diachronic reading can be of interest to those interested in the history of Israel's religion,

etc., but it would be questioned in the first place whether a document allowed this. Whybray, reviewing Alter's 'The Art of Biblical Narrative' (III 1981) reminds Alter that the literary critical method of reading should evaluate 'the artistic achievement, not merely of one generation of literary artists, but of many.' (III Whybray 1983, p. 86). Alter in his reply (III 1983, pp. 116-117) justifies his exclusive attention to the one generation on the grounds that there is no reliable consensus regarding the literary sources of a work. The gist of his argument is that 'when educated guesses on say, the Joseph story ... swing back and forth over a conjectural period of several hundred years', how is an appreciation of these alleged sources possible? Whereas Berlin (III 1983, pp. 48-55) gives a synchronic reading of the opening of the Joseph story, Genesis 37, for a long time considered to be ill-seamed, Barton (III 1984, p. 28), on the other hand, thinks some narratives defy synchronic reading, e.g. the Flood Story. There is no mention of Longacre in his bibliography, so he could not let us know whether Longacre succeeded in taming this defiant story (III 1985). Longacre's synchronic account seems a good try, and the notorious chronological difficulty ('the exquisitely palindromic character of the story' (ibid p. 182)) is dealt with such that it makes artistic sense. Repetition and restarts are seen as emphatic devices (Grimes' 'overlay' Ib 1975, pp. 292-297). What is at issue here is how far we can construct a poetics of the biblical text sensitive to the conventions which produced the text and less sensitive to the sensitivities and presuppositions of the modern

reader. Alter mentions Todorov's comment on so-called primitive narrative as a 'kind of mental image engendered by modern parochialism: 'It was only by imposing a naive and unexamined aesthetic of their own', Todorov proposes, 'that modern scholars are able to declare so confidently that certain parts of the ancient text could not belong with others' (III 1981, p. 21). Alter develops a very sensitive poetics, perhaps a little given to psychologizing about the Hebrew mentality, but nonetheless able to produce an unforced reading of the text.

The source critical criteria for source detection used by the classical documentary hypothesis for the history of the Pentateuch are: linguistic isoglosses, repetition, hiatus, conflicting material, abrupt stylistic changes. It is possible to assume all these into a poetics of the text, as is now frequently done, although such kinds of poetics are not strongly linguistic. There are times when an unresolvable tension is felt; Barton feels it in Genesis 6ff and claims that the major questions to address to the Pentateuch are: How do we read it? What do we read it as? These seem reasonable questions until one remembers that countless pious Jews and Christians have found no difficulty in reading the Pentateuch as an exciting story of how Israel became a people under God, i.e. these readers have operated with a synchronic poetics quite unconsciously. Even if a work is multi-layered, the combination of sources creates a new dynamic, be it locally or globally. Gunn speaks of 'tensions, some of which may be due to redaction, [which] are subsumed (which does not necessarily mean

eliminated) in a complex but artistically satisfying whole' (III Gunn 1980, p. 14). Gunn cites as an example of hiatus I Samuel 16-17, the two accounts of David's introduction to Saul's court: 'the movement of the story can carry us across the break if we can but momentarily suspend our belief'. He hazards something better than this by suggesting infilling, e.g. after a while David returns home and his identity is forgotten by Saul (ibid, p. 79). Iser (IIb 1978) sees the text as allowing the reader this kind of freedom but within limits set by the text. Now, a priori, one can imagine how curiosity about the relationship between David and Saul might well engender stories relating how David first met the king he was to replace. But this does not absolve us from reading the story as a unity. In the case of glaring hiatus Steven Heath's notion of the violence of a narrative is relevant: a narrative after the disturbance of its initial situation (a position of repose) acquires momentum which has to be controlled but occasionally control is lost, and the 'violence' of the narrative makes itself felt (IIb Thompson, p 42). Thompson (ibid) makes use of this idea to explain some of the seemingly irreconcilable tensions in 'Ivan the Terrible'. It is as though a text draws attention to itself as text.

I believe that we must accept the premise that whatever method of writing, the 'author' was concerned to communicate. Sperber and Wilson (Ib 1986) draw attention to the concept of 'relevance' as the mainspring of all communicatory texts: we process what another says because we assume the speaker/writer meant it to be

relevant, and this motivates us to understand what requires effort: whatever implications are arrived at will sufficiently reward the addressee for the expended effort. The aesthetic of biblical writing may be different from ours, because we are less tolerant of repetition and contradiction as 'poetic' devices, unless we read avant-garde literature, but the intention of both aesthetics is to communicate. Unavoidably for a modern reader used to the nineteenth century realist novel the artificiality of text will be more palpable.

In conclusion I do not want to overthrow the premise that biblical texts have a history; I am concerned only that the investigation of that history (which has occupied biblical scholars a good hundred and fifty years) should not prevent us developing a poetics of the text to enable us to read these ancient texts as works possessing a unity.

14.3 AUTHOR - TEXT NODES

14.3.1 REDACTION CRITICISM has been situated 'in via', because, although preoccupied with the final author/redactor, it effectively becomes a text-oriented method always in danger of eliminating the editor by dint of demonstrating too well how all the additions, alterations and other minutiae blend in with the work as a whole. This is inevitable. Redaction criticism is ostensibly diachronic - it deals with the ultimate stage of the

work's history but effectively synchronic - the final editor is sensitive to the unity of the work, i.e. redaction criticism actually uses a potentially synchronic poetics. Thus what we have said about source criticism applies also to redaction criticism. Comparison is an important feature of this method, and sometimes the Vorlage of a work is extant, e.g. 'Kings' for 'Chronicles'. In such an instant we have an extreme case where a new work is produced on the basis of an earlier work. Stylistics is an invaluable help here to characterise the linguistic changes (often slight but tendentious with the Chronicler), and their effects in the new context. At the other end of the scale comparison is with a hypothetical Vorlage. 'Ecclesiastes' is an interesting example. Commonly, a small number of passages are cited as editorial additions because their piety conflicts with Ecclesiastes' agnosticism and pessimism. There are two possibilities: we eliminate the additions, i.e. what does not agree with the overall tenor, or we assimilate them somehow to the work. The latter probably results in a shift of perspective: the inadequacy of human wisdom and knowledge without revelation or traditional religion. The former approach seems cavalier; it is not just the odd addition but a careful dissemination throughout the text. And it raises the question of what do we read the work as? This first approach assumes we know.

14.3.2 TEXTUAL CRITICISM, unlike redactive criticism, which is interested in changes which produce the final form, looks at changes subsequent to the final form, changes which are both

intentional and accidental. Alterations are suspected when the ancient versions have other readings, whose reliability increases in proportion to their degree of difficulty (an approximate rule). Sometimes, the text makes no sense or seems to want fluency, and the versions may reflect this as well. Or they have readable texts, possibly an instance of early textual criticism by the scribes. Conjectures as to the 'correct' reading, supported or unsupported, can run the risk of a failure to try to read the text as a possible unity. On the other hand, there is a danger of being too conservative and having a poetics so flexible as to accommodate almost every difficulty. In this instance textual criticism becomes a looking-glass image of redaction criticism: the exegetes in both cases harmonize the editing/scribal alteration so as to eliminate the addition/correction altogether. As with redaction criticism stylistics can be helpful to textual criticism because it makes the critic sensitive to the contextual features and dynamics of a work. Westcott and Hart's two criteria⁴ are obviously amenable to stylistic honing: the transcriptional probabilities (what is characteristic of a scribe's manner) and the intrinsic probabilities (what is characteristic of the text). Yet it can be acknowledged that in some instances the transcriptional probabilities can produce a new text. Textual criticism too can be regarded as suspended between nodes with a set to the scribe becoming a set to the text.

14.4 TEXT NODE

14.4.1 RHETORICAL CRITICISM has been amply dealt with incidentally in the discussion of literary criticism in chapters 1 and 14. The quotation from Muilenberg's address made clear rhetorical criticism's strong New Criticism flavour, as does also Kessler's listing among its concerns such things as medium, stance, form, structure, style, metastyle (rhetorical figures) (III Kessler 1982, pp. 8-9). What I want to do here is to comment on Fokkelman's description of stylistics.⁶ He begins quite rightly by disapproving of the tendency to which exegetes are prey of 'quickly getting down to business in the sense of hastily making statements about the 'content', the value which the text represents, etc, on a (much too) small empirical basis.' He disapproves for a very important reason, with which practitioners of the stylistics I have described and used would agree:

The content of the text can only be found in, and thanks to the concrete form of, the language.

Thereafter we part company. He seems to imply that the starting point of analysis is ignorance, 'not knowing anything beforehand'. Does he mean that one has no intuitions about the work, or one brackets such intuitions out before starting? The former is impracticable for most biblical exegetes because of familiarity with the texts, and according to my argument, it is, moreover, unsound. Stylistics is not a heuristic method primarily. At any

rate, this initial work is clearly to be thorough and rigorous but on the evidence of the books it is not rigorously linguistic; rather, we have a fully (indeed, luxuriantly) developed form of rhetorical criticism. Levels of language are recognised. The image of a ladder⁷ is employed: sounds, syllables, words, phrases, clauses, sentences, etc, but there is obviously no delicate linguistic classification here. Beyond this linguistic level he moves to a discourse level of scenes, acts, sections. We remain locked within the text.

Once this 'strict' work is performed, the exegete then performs his 'supple' work. Fokkelman distinguishes between form and content and sees style as uniting them. He describes the relationship between form and content using two images, (1) birth at which the exegete is midwife, (2) the blossoming of a flower. (The exegete's rôle is not defined here. Gardener?) I think by 'content' Fokkelman means more than merely the plot of the story; he seems to mean its theme and meaning. He then abandons the criterion of strict verifiability: formerly it was 'sober observations, remaining totally verifiable', now verifiability is not to 'be considered decisive in the field of study of arts.' Thus once the 'supple' stage is reached when 'the work ... comes to full bloom semantically' decreasing verifiability is experienced. Fokkelman, as far as I understand him, fails to maintain rigour at precisely the point where it is required, so that it is not clear what is the point of all the hard labour prior to it, other than to get the exegete immersed in the text.

There is no Spitzerian to-and-fro movement between text and interpretation. And the romanticism of the imagery is worrying. 'Themes and values wish to appear, as a blossom flowers and crowns a plant's growth'. They may indeed want to; it is the experience of all sensitive readers, but the linguistic stylistic task is to maintain the criterion of verifiability: to match whatever blooms against the ground of its emergence! Where Fokkelman is right in this area is to underline the fecundity of a work of art; mere linguistic description would be blind to this. Otherwise in Fokkelman's work I see the weakness of rhetorical criticism as a whole. It is, however, a move in the right direction. The relationship between the two stages of analysis and interpretation needs rethinking, and a more thoroughgoing linguistic base is required.

14.4.2 CANON CRITICISM with its notion of canon is not entirely strange to the secular world, especially to a Leavisite criticism with its corresponding ideas of literary canon, inspired writing and moral vision. Canon criticism is also synchronic: it accepts the text as it stands, though not for aesthetic reasons, but for theological reasons. It thus treats a work as a unity and respects not just the local context but also the global context of canon, e.g. Isaiah 53 is seen not only in respect to Isaiah 1-66, but also in respect to other prophetic books, and indeed to the whole Bible. Now the Bible, albeit a collection of books, is not normally published as separate books (except for study purposes or evangelistic work) and is commonly thought of as one book. Thus

work on one text within the Bible, if the Bible is regarded as one book, is similar to work on one part of a novel. Both must be done with reference to the whole work, i.e. in the case of the Bible the whole work = the Bible, as if it were one enormous novel. If the Bible is regarded as a collection of books, then work on one text would be similar to working on a passage in a novel not only with reference to the entire novel but also with reference to the entire authorial corpus, for now the Bible is seen as a united corpus. In practice canon criticism does not obliterate differences between individual books, but it is usually anxious to ensure good 'dove-tailing'. Certainly the very notion of two testaments seems to require the concept of a corpus thematically linked, for in Barthes' terminology, the Old Testament contains a hermeneutic code which is only de-enigmatized in the New Testament.

My stylistics with its fundamental idea of contexts of meaning is obviously sympathetic to a non-dogmatic canon criticism. Where it would have to part company is with canon criticism's anxiety concerning the dangerousness of a local context too highly particularised, i.e. canon criticism evades and dislikes the notion of tension and wants to deny heteroglossia - the coexisting presence of more than one voice in a work. This tendency to suppress is at work in biblical texts themselves, as we saw in the analysis of Isaiah I. Thus the controlling function of 'canon' acts as an oppressive voice. Oddly enough, canon criticism and also source criticism can look ultra-modern: source criticism's

atomisation of texts resembles Barthes' method of cutting texts into many lexias, whilst canon criticism shares with Barthes the notion of the one text relating perhaps not to an infinity of other texts, but certainly to many texts!

14.4.3 STRUCTURALISM is still a new, exciting method for some exegetes, who use it in a text-oriented fashion; like source criticism structuralism also wants to get behind the work, not historically, but mythically. It is deep structure which is sought, so that texts can be generated according to some universal narrative grid. Barthes looking back on his structuralist phase designated his new approach 'textual criticism' in contrast, and it finds its best exposition in 'Plaisir du Texte' (IIB 1973), which 'expounds' a method of reading strongly reader-orientated. It might be better if biblical structuralism moved a little in this direction (perhaps not as far as Barthes' orgasmic, anarchical 'jouissance'!) and concentrated on how we read and how we derive meaning from texts. This is a key area for which a systemic stylistics is ideally suited. In its text-centred form structuralism is not, however, antagonistic to stylistics. Stylistics sees the text as a process of a socio-semiotic kind: it is realised within a system. Likewise, structuralism, except it is interested in what lies beneath the surface, the cultural or universal deep grammar of a genre (usually narrative). A universal narrative grammar implies that the deep structure is not language-specific; work can be done to examine the linguistic constellations in texts of a particular culture to see how that

culture realises the surface grammar.

14.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The ferment in the biblical exegetical field is challenging traditional ways of reading the Bible critically. These new ways themselves also need to be challenged lest we lose sight of the question which asks what it is we are doing in making texts mean. I would want linguistic stylistics to be seen not as another competing methodology but as a praxis for informing other approaches which raises to consciousness crucial questions:

How do texts come to mean?

What is the rôle of author and reader?

How is a text related to its cultural background, i.e. as the expression of a higher semiotic?

These questions have in fact been forced upon us in our examination of the various biblical interpretative strategies by dint of the phenomenon of 'suspension' between nodes or of a methodology being 'in via' (see Diagram 15.1) We noted this with reference to redactional criticism and textual criticism, but it can be discerned elsewhere too.

<u>redactional criticism</u>	author/final editor	→ text
<u>textual criticism</u>	scribe	→ text
<u>source criticism</u>	author	→ universe
<u>canon criticism</u>	text	→ universe
<u>structuralism</u>	text	→ reader

i.e. redaction and textual criticism move towards a synchronic poetics (the poetic function), source and canon criticism towards a referential or ideational reading, and structuralism towards an affective reading. Stylistics itself as a text-orientated method is not necessarily rooted at the text node, and I see a crucial area of work being at the reader node. We need to investigate how we read and how far the text imposes restraints on polysemy. Stylistics has been presented as a way of probing that relationship between the reader's intuitions and the textual given. This is once more the all important issue of how meaning is constructed in the text.

The analyses have not generated brand-new and staggering interpretations, revitalising weary texts. I am even prepared to accept Barry's criticism (13.3.3.2) that the analyses possibly have not even disclosed to us anything we did not know before as a result of interpretation about a text and its meaning. What it should have disclosed to us is insight into how meaning as a socio-semantic process is constructed in a text. Stylistics as practised here is

a plea for a basis of agreed, demonstrable analysis and description.

a plea for texts to be seen as socially-processed, linguistic artefacts, whose authors and readers themselves are socially 'processed' or 'constructed'.

a plea for language to be taken seriously and handled in an intelligent and systematic way.

I conclude with two quotations from Macleod and Fokkelman who, though following diverging ways once an analysis is under way, nevertheless start from the same position: a passionate concern for language as the essence of text.

Macleod (IIa Anderson & Macleod, eds, 1988 p. 156) speaks of

'... the tendency of students to ignore questions relating to the form of a text, and to see reading as simply the business of getting at, and keeping hold of, the paraphrasable content of the text. (Behind this bias lies a long schooling where questions of historical background or of authorial personality and belief and the like have always been made more prominent than any concern with the text as an object and structure ... the notion that the language of a text is simply a transparent and inert medium serving to facilitate the apprehension of a more interesting content ...

What Macleod wants to commend is precisely what Fokkelman argues for (III 1981, p. 12):

The content of the text can only be found in and thanks to the concrete form of the language. However eloquent an Old Testament narrative or poem may epically, lyrically or didactically speak and however great its depth, this all occurs totally by the way of the language. Therefore, a stylistician begins with a meticulous and complete language analysis.

CHAPTER 14

FOOTNOTES

1. Ib Bühler, 1934.
2. Jakobson operates with six functions; the other two, which he adds to the ones he inherits, are the phatic (checking out the lines of communication) and the metalingual (checking out the code or language). The poetic function goes back to Mukarovsky's aesthetic function of language. Jakobson explains his functions in the famous 'Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics' (IIa Sebeok ed., pp. 350-377).
3. These have been described in detail, Chapter 2.3. They begin to appear in Halliday's work in the late sixties and the fullest, earliest statement is Ia Halliday, pp. 140-165.
4. See Westcott etc., 1990, pp. 541-52.
5. Chapter 1.2.2.
6. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations are from vol. 1 of Fokkelman's 'Narrative Art and Poetry in the Books of Samuel: King David', pp. 12-14.
7. See III Fokkelman (1986), p. 4.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Since the thesis covers the fields of linguistics, literary studies and biblical interpretation, the bibliography has been divided into sections and subsections for ease of reference, viz.

I LINGUISTICS

- a. Systemic
- b. Other

II LITERARY THEORY AND PRACTICE

- a. Linguistic
- b. Other

III BIBLICAL

Where an entry makes cross-reference to another entry, the second entry will be found in the same section/subsection unless otherwise indicated by a reference location before the name, e.g. Ia Halliday, etc.

- a.
- | | |
|------|--|
| CUP | Cambridge University Press |
| DLT | Darton Longman and Todd |
| EUP | Edinburgh University Press |
| IVP | Intervarsity Press |
| JSOT | Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
(Sheffield Academic Press) |
| MIT | Massachusetts Institute of Technology |
| MUP | Manchester University Press |
| OUP | Oxford University Press |
| RKP | Routledge and Kegan Paul |
| SCM | Student Christian Movement |
| SPCK | Society for the Propagation of Christian
Knowledge |

b. Biblical Commentary Series

- | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|
| ICC | International Critical Commentary |
| NCB | New Century Bible |
| NCBC | New Critical Bible Commentary |
| OTL | Old Testament Library |
| TBC | Torch Bible Commentary |
| WBC | Word Bible Commentary |

I LINGUISTICS INCLUDING BIBLICAL HEBREW

Ia SYSTEMIC

Bazell, C E, Catford, J C, and Robins, R H, eds (1966), In Memory of J R Firth. London: Longmans.

Benson, J D, Greaves, W S (1985) Systemic Perspectives on Discourse, 2 vols. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.

Benson J D, Cummings, M J and Greaves, W S (1988) Linguistics in a Systemic Perspective (Current Issues in Linguistic Theory 39). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Berry, M (1975-77) Introduction to Systemic Linguistics. 2 vols. London: Batsford.

_____ (1979) 'A Note on Sinclair and Coulthard's Classes of Acts Including a Comment on Comments'. Nottingham Linguistic Circular 8 (1979), pp 49-59.

Butler, C S (1985) Systemic Linguistics: Theory and Applications. London: Batsford.

Burton, D (1980a) 'The Linguistic Analysis of Spoken Discourse' in IIa Burton (1980), pp 117-139.

_____ (1980b) 'Towards an Analysis of Casual Conversation' in IIa Burton (1980), pp 140-167.

_____ (1981) 'Analysing Spoken Discourse' in Coulthard and Montgomery eds (1981), pp 61-81.

Carter, R (1987) Vocabulary: Applied Linguistic Perspectives. London: Allen and Unwin.

Catford, J C (1969) 'J R Firth and British Linguistics' in Ib

Hill, ed. (1969), pp 218-228.

_____ (1965) A Linguistic Theory of Translation. London: Oxford.

Chilton, P A (1978) 'On The Theory of Register' Nottingham Linguistic Circular 7 (1978), 113-130.

Coulthard, M (1977) An Introduction to Discourse Analysis. London: Longman.

_____ and Montgomery, M, eds (1981) Studies in Discourse Analysis. London: RKP.

Crombie, W (1985) Process and Relation in Discourse and Language Learning. Oxford: OUP.

Davidse, K (1987) 'Halliday's Functional Grammar and The Prague School' in Ib Dirven and Fried eds (1987), pp 39-79.

Edmondson, W. (1981) Spoken Discourse: A Model for Analysis. London: Longman.

Ellis, J (1966) 'On Contextual Meaning' in Bazell etc., eds (1966), pp 79-95.

Fawcett, R P, Halliday, M A K, Lamb, S M, and Makkai, A, eds (1984) The Semiotics of Culture and Language, 2 vols London: Frances Pinter.

Firth, J R (1950) 'Personality and Language in Society' in Firth (1957), pp 177-189.

_____ (1951) 'Modes of Meaning' in Firth (1957), pp 190-215.

_____ (1957) Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951. London: OUP.

_____ (1968) Selected Papers of J R Firth 1952-59, ed.

F R Palmer. London: Longman.

Gregory, M (1987) 'Metafunctions: Aspects of Their Development,

Status and Use in Systemic Linguistics' in Halliday and Fawcett, eds (1987), pp 94-106.

Gregory, M and Carroll, S (1978) Language and Situation. London: RKP.

Halliday, M A K (1961) 'Categories of The Theory of Grammar' in I Kress, ed. (1976).

_____ (1962) 'Linguistics and Machine Translation' Zeitschrift für Phonetik, Sprachwissenschaft und Kommunikationsforschung 15 (1962), pp 145-158.

_____ (1966a) 'The Concept of Rank: a Reply' Journal of Linguistics 2 (1966), pp 110-118.

_____ (1966b) 'Lexis as a Linguistic Level' in Bazell etc., eds (1966c).

_____ (1967a) Grammar, Society and the Noun. London: H K Lewis (for University College, London).

_____ (1967-1968) 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English' (Parts 1-3) Journal of Linguistics 3 (1967), pp 37-81; 3 (1967), pp 199-244; 4 (1968), pp 179-215.

_____ (1969) 'Systemic Grammar' in I Kress, ed. (1976).

_____ (1970) 'Language Structure and Language Function' in Ib Lyons, ed. (1970), pp 140-165.

_____ (1973a) 'The Functional Basis of Language' in Ib Bernstein ed. (1973), pp 343-366.

_____ (1973b) Explorations in The Functions of Language. London: Edward Arnold.

_____ (1974a) 'Discussion with M A K Halliday in

- Ib Parret (1974), pp 81-120.
- _____ (1974b) 'The Place of "Functional Sentence Perspective" in the System of Linguistic Description' in Ib Daneš (1974).
- _____ (1977) 'Text as Semantic choice in Social Contexts' in Halliday (1978), pp 128-151.
- _____ (1978) Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning. London: Edward Arnold.
- _____ (1985a) 'Systemic Background' in Benson and Greaves eds (1985) vol. 1, pp 1-15.
- _____ (1985b) An Introduction to Functional Grammar. London: Edward Arnold.
- _____ (1985c) 'Dimensions of Discourse Analysis: in Ib Van Dijk ed. (1985) vol. 2, pp 29-56.
- _____ (1987) 'Language and the Order of Nature' in Ila Fabb etc., eds (1987), pp 135-154.
- Halliday, M A K, and Fawcett, R P, eds (1987) New Developments in Systemic Linguistics, vol 1: Theory and Description. London: Frances Pinter.
- Halliday, M A K, and Hasan, R (1976) Cohesion in English. London: Longman.
- Halliday, M A K, and Martin, J R, eds (1981) Readings in Systemic Linguistics. London: Batsford.
- Hasan, R (1985) Linguistics, Language and Verbal Art. Geelong, Victoria Deakin University Press.
- _____ (1987) 'The Grammarian's Dream: Lexis as Most Delicate Grammar' in Halliday and Fawcett, eds (1987), pp 184-211.

- Henderson, E JA (1987) 'J R Firth in Retrospect: A New View From the Eighties' in Steele and Threadgold, eds (1987), pp 57-68.
- Hoey, M (1983) On the Surface of Discourse. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Hudson, R (1986) 'Systemic Grammar' (Review of Halliday (1985b) and Butler (1985)). Linguistics 24 (1986), pp 791-815.
- Huddleston, R (1988) 'Constituency, Multi-functionality and Grammaticalism in Halliday's "Functional Grammar"', Journal of Linguistics 24 (1988), pp 137-174.
- Kress, G, ed. (1976) Halliday: System and Function in Language. Oxford: OUP.
- Langendoen, D T (1968) The London School of Linguistics: A Study of the Linguistic Themes of B Malinowski and J R Firth, Research Monograph No 46. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Lyons, J (1966) 'Firth's Theory of "Meaning"' in Bazell etc., eds (1966), pp 288-302.
- McIntosh, A, and Halliday, M A K (1966) Patterns of Language: Papers in General, Descriptive and Applied Linguistics. London: Longman.
- Martin, J R (1984) 'Functional Components in a Grammar', Nottingham Linguistic Circular 13 (1984), pp 35-70.
- Matthews, P H (1966) 'The Concept of Rank in Neo-Firthian Linguistics', Journal of Linguistics 2 (1965), pp 101-109.
- Monaghan, J (1979) The Neo-Firthian Tradition and Its Contribution to General Linguistics. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Morley, G D (1985) An Introduction to Systemic Grammar.

Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Muir, J (1972) A Modern Approach to English Grammar: An Introduction to Systemic Grammar. London: Batsford.

Sinclair, J McH (1966) 'Beginning The Study of Lexis' in Bazell etc., eds (1966), pp 410-430.

_____ (1972) A Course in Spoken English: Grammar. Oxford: OUP.

_____ (1985) 'On The Integration of Linguistic Description' in Ib van Dijk, ed. (1985) vol. 2, pp 13-28.

_____ (1987) 'Collocation: a Progress Report' in Steele and Threadgold, eds (1987), vol. 2, pp 319-332.

Sinclair, J McH, and Coulthard, M (1975) Towards an Analysis of Discourse. London: OUP.

Steele, R and Threadgold, T, eds (1987) Language Topics: Essays in Honours of Michael Halliday, 2 vols Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Steiner, E (1985) 'Working with Transitivity' in Benson and Greaves, eds (1985) vol. 1, pp 163-186.

Taglicht, J (1984) Message and Emphasis. London: Longman.

Winter, E (1982) Towards a Contextual Grammar of English. London: Allen and Unwin.

Young, D J (1980) The Structures of English Clauses. London: Hutchinson.

_____ (1985) 'Some Applications of Systemic Grammar to TEFL or Whatever Became of Register Analysis?' in Benson and Greaves, eds (1985), pp 282-294.

Ib OTHER

Abercrombie, D A (1964) 'A Phonetician's View of Verse Structure'
in Abercrombie (1965), pp 16-25.

_____ (1967) Elements of General Phonetics. Edinburgh:
EUP.

Andersen, F I (1970) The Hebrew Verbless Clause in The Pentateuch
(Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph series 14).
Nashville: Abingdon.

_____ (1971) 'Passive and Ergative in Hebrew' in Near
Eastern Studies in Honour of W F Albright ed. H Goedicke
(1971). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

_____ (1974) The Sentence in Biblical Hebrew (Janua
Linguorum, Series Practica, 231). The Hague: Mouton.

Anderson, J M (1971) The Grammar of Case, Cambridge: CUP.

_____ ed. (1982) Language Form and Linguistic Variation:
Papers Dedicated to Angus McIntosh (vol. 15 of Current Issues
in Linguistic Theory), Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Austin, J L (1962) How to Do Things with Words, 2nd ed., Oxford:
Clarendon Press.

Bach, E and Harms, R (1968) Universals in Language Theory. New
York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Bache, C (1985) Verbal Aspect. Odense: Odense University Press.

Bally, C (1951a) Le Language et La Vie, 3rd ed. Geneva: Librairie
Droz.

_____ (1951b) Traité de la Stylistique Française. 3rd ed.
Paris.

- Barnes, O L (1965) A New Approach to The Problem of The Hebrew Tenses and its Solution without Recourse to Waw-Consecutive. Oxford: J Thornton & Son.
- Becker, A L (1978) 'The Figure A Sentence Makes' in Syntax and Semantics, vol. 9, ed. P Cole (1978), pp 243-259.
- Benveniste, E (1971) Problems in General Linguistics. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press.
- _____ (1971) 'The Correlations of Tense in The French Verb' in Benveniste (1971), pp 205-215.
- Berger, P and Luckmann, T (1967) The Social Construction of Reality. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Bernstein, B, ed. (1973) Class, Codes and Control vol. 2: Applied Studies Towards A Sociology of Language. London: RKP.
- Blake, F R (1951) A Resurvey of Hebrew Tenses. Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum.
- Bloomfield, L. (1933) Language. New York: Henry Holt.
- Bosch, P (1983) Agreement and Anaphora. New York: Academic Press.
- Brockelmann, C (1956) Hebräische Syntax. Neukirchen Kreis Moers: Buchhandlung der Erziehungsvereins.
- Brown, E K and Miller, J E (1980), Syntax: A Linguistic Introduction to Sentence Structure. London: Hutchinson.
- Brown, F, Driver, S R, and Briggs, C A (1907) A Hebrew and English Lexicon of The Old Testament. Oxford:Clarendon.
- Brown, G and Yule, G (1983) Discourse Analysis. Cambridge: CUP.
- Brown, P and Levinson, S (1978) 'Universals in Language Usage: Politeness Phenomena' in Goody, ed. (1978), pp 56-289.

- Bühler, K (1934) Sprachtheorie. Jena: Fischer Verlag.
- Butler, C S and Hartman, P R K, eds (1976) A Reader in Language Variety (vol. 1 of Exeter Linguistic Studies). Exeter: University of Exeter.
- Catford, J C (1988) A Practical Introduction to Phonetics. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Chomsky, N (1957) Syntactic Structures. The Hague: Mouton.
- _____ (1965) Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Cambridge: Mass: MIT.
- _____ (1971) Chomsky: Selected Readings, ed. J P B Allen and P van Buren. London: OUP.
- Cole, P and Morgan, J L, eds (1975) Syntax and Semantics: Vol.3: Speech Acts. New York: Academic Press.
- Comrie, B. (1976) Tense. Cambridge: CUP.
- _____ (1985) Aspect. Cambridge: CUP.
- Cook, W A (1979) Case Grammar: Development of The Matrix Model (1970-1978). Washington: George Town University Press.
- Cowley, A E (1910) Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar as edited by the late E Kautzsch and revised by A E Cowley. London: OUP.
- Craig, R T and Tracy, K (1983) Conversational Coherence. Beverley Hills: Sage Publications.
- Crystal, D (1965) Linguistics, Language and Religion. London: Burns and Oates.
- _____ (1981) Directions in Applied Linguistics. London: Academic Press.
- _____ (1985) A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics, 2nd ed. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Cruse, D A (1986) Lexical Semantics. Cambridge: CUP.
- Dahl, O, ed. (1974) Topic and Comment, Contextual Boundness and
and Focus. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Daneš, F (1974) Papers on Functional Sentence Perspective. Prague:
Academia.
- Davidson, A B (1902) Introductory Hebrew Grammar: Syntax, 3rd ed.
Edinburgh: T & T Clark .
- Dik, S C (1978) Functional Grammar. Amsterdam: North-Holland.
- _____ (1980) Studies in Functional Grammar. London: Academic
Press.
- Dirven, R and Fried, V, eds (1987) Functionalism in Linguistics.
Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Dirven, R and Radden, G, eds (1987) Concepts of Case, Tübingen:
Günter Narr Verlag.
- Driver, G R (1936) Problems of The Hebrew Verbal System.
Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Driver, S R (1892) A Treatise on The Use of The Tenses in Hebrew,
3rd ed. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Dubsky, J (1972) 'Prague Concept of Functional Style' in Fried,
(1972), pp 112-127.
- Ferris, D C (1983) Understanding Semantics (vol. 6 of Exeter
Linguistic Studies). Exeter: University of Exeter.
- Firbas, J (1972) 'On The Interplay of Prosodic and Non-prosodic
Means of Functional Sentence Perspective' in Fried (1972),
pp 77-94.
- _____ (1982) 'Has Every Sentence A Theme and Rheme?' in
Anderson, ed. (1982).

- _____ (1987) 'On The Delimitation of The Theme in Functional Sentence Perspective' in Driver and Fried, eds (1987), pp 137-156.
- Fillmore, C (1968) 'The Case for Case' in Bach and Harms, eds (1968), pp 1-88.
- _____ (1977) 'The Case for Case Re-opened' in Syntax and Semantics: vol 8: Grammatical Relations, ed. P Cole and J Sadock (1977). New York: Academic Press.
- Fleischman, S (1985) 'Discourse Function of Tense-Aspect Oppositions in Narrative: Towards a Theory of Grounding', Linguistics 23 (1985), pp 851-882.
- Foder, J D (1977) Semantics: Theories of Meaning in Generative Grammar. New York: Crowell.
- Foley, W A and van Valin, R D Jr (1984) Functional Syntax and Universal Grammar. Cambridge: CUP.
- Fowler, R, Hodge, R, Kress, G, and Trew, T, eds (1979), Language and Control. London: RKP.
- Fox, A (1983) 'Topic Continuity in Biblical Hebrew Narrative' in Girven ed. (1983), pp 215-254.
- Fried, V, ed. (1972) The Prague School of Linguistics and Language Teaching. London: OUP.
- Fudge, E C, ed. (1973) Phonology. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Garfinkel, H (1976) Studies in Ethnomethodology. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- _____ (1986) 'Remarks on Ethnomethodology' in Gumperz and Hymes, eds (1986), pp 309-324.
- Givón, T. (1977) 'The Drift from VSO to SVO in Biblical Hebrew:

- The Pragmatics of Tense-Aspect' in Li, ed. (1977), pp 181-250.
- _____ (1982) 'The Creole Prototype and Beyond' (section 3:2 'Early Biblical Hebrew') in Hopper (1982), pp 115-163.
- _____ (1983) Topic Continuity in Discourse. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- _____ (1984a) Syntax vol. 1. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- _____ (1984b) 'The Pragmatics of The Subject Position in Biblical Hebrew' in Givón (1984a), pp 208-210.
- _____ (1984c) 'Early Biblical Hebrew Topic Shift, Thematic Continuity and Old Inflections' in Givón (1984a), pp 296-300.
- Gleason, H A (1961) An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics, 2nd ed. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Gleeson, P and Wakefield, N (1968) Language and Culture: A Reader. Columbus, Ohio: C E Merrill.
- Goffman, E (1955) 'On Face-work' in Laver and Hutcheson, eds (1972), pp 319-346.
- _____ (1981) Forms of Talk. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Goody, E N, ed. (1978) Questions and Politeness: Strategies in Social Interaction. Cambridge: CUP.
- Grace, G W (1987) The Linguistic Construction of Reality. London: Croom Helm.
- Greenberg, J H, ed. (1978) Universals of Human Language, vol. 4: Syntax. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Greene, J (1972) Psycholinguistics. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Greimas, A J (1966) Sémantique Structurale. Paris: Larousse.

- Grice, H P (1967) 'Logic and Conversation' in Cole and Morgan, eds, (1975), pp 41-58.
- Grimes, J E (1975) The Thread of Discourse. The Hague: Mouton.
- Gumperz, J J and Hyme, D, eds (1986) Directions in Socio-linguistics: The Ethnography of Communication, rev.ed. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.
- Harris, Z (1963) Discourse Analysis Reprints. The Hague: Mouton.
- Hill, A A, ed. (1969) Linguistics Today. New York: Basic Books.
- Hjelmslev, L (1961) Prolegomena to A Theory of Language, revised English edition, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Holenstein, E (1976) Roman Jakobson's Approach to Language: Phenomenological Structuralism. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hope, T E, Reid, T B, Harms, R and Price, G (1981), Language, Meaning and Style: Essays in Memory of Stephen Ullmann. Leeds: Leeds University Press.
- Hopper, PJ (1979) 'Aspect and Foregrounding in Discourse' in Syntax and Semantics (1979), vol. 12, ed. P Cole, New York: Academic Press, pp 213-241.
- _____ (1982) Tense-Aspect: Between Semantics and Pragmatics, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hopper, P J and Thompson, S A (1980) 'Transitivity in Grammar and Discourse', Language 56 (1980), pp 251-300.
- Huddleston, R (1971) The Sentence in Written English. Cambridge: CUP.
- _____ (1976) An Introduction to English Transformational Syntax. London: Longman.

- _____ (1984) Introduction to the Grammar of English.
Cambridge: CUP.
- Hymes, D (1974) Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographical Approach. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Innes, R E (1982) Karl Bühler: Semiotic Foundations of Language Theory. New York: Plenum Press.
- Jackendoff, R S (1972) Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
- Jacobs, R A, Rosenbaum, P S, eds (1971) Transformations, Style and Meaning. Waltham, Mass: Xerox College Publishing.
- Jakobson, R and Halle, K (1956) Fundamentals of Language. The Hague: Mouton.
- Jespersen, O (1924) The Philosophy of Grammar. London: Unwin and Unwin.
- de Joia, A and Stenton, A (1980) Terms in Systemic Linguistics: A Guide to Halliday. London: Batsford.
- Jones, D (1967) The Phoneme: its Nature and Use. Cambridge: CUP.
- Jones, L H (1971) Theme in English Expository Discourse. Lake Bluff, Illinois: Jupiter Press.
- Katz, J J (1981) Language and Other Abstract Objects. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kennett, R H (1901) A Short Account of The Hebrew Tenses.
Cambridge: CUP.
- Khan, G (1988) Studies in Semitic Syntax. Oxford: OUP.
- Kress, G and Hodge, R (1978) Language as Ideology. London: RKP.
- Kuno, S (1980) 'Functional Syntax' in Syntax and Semantics, vol 13: ed. E A Moravcsik, and J R Wirth, New York: Academic

- Press, pp 117-135.
- Kuroda, S-Y (1979) The (W)hole of The Doughnut. Ghent: Story-Scientia.
- Kutscher, E Y (1982) A History of The Hebrew Language. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.
- Laver, J and Hutcheson, S, eds (1972) Communication in Face to Face Interaction. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Leech, G N (1981) Semantics, 2nd ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- _____ (1983) Principles of Pragmatics. London: Longman.
- Leech, G N and Svartik, J (1975) A Communicative Grammar of English. London: Longman.
- Lepschy, G C (1970) A Survey of Structural Linguistics. London: Faber and Faber.
- Levinson, S C (1983) Pragmatics. Cambridge: CUP.
- Li, G N, ed. (1976) Subject and Topic. New York: Academic Press.
- _____ ed. (1977) Mechanisms of Syntactic Change. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Longacre, R E (1964) Grammar Discovery Procedures: A Field Manual. The Hague: Mouton.
- _____ (1983) The Grammar of Discourse. New York: Plenum Press.
- _____ (1984) 'Reshaping Linguistics: Context and Content' in New Directions in Linguistics and Semantics (vol. 32 of Current Issues in Linguistic Theory), ed. J E Copeland (1984), Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp 73-95.
- Lyons, J (1968) Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics. Cambridge: CUP.

- _____ (1970a) Chomsky. London: Fontana.
- _____ ed (1970b) New Horizons in Linguistics. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- _____ (1977) Semantics 2 vols Cambridge: CUP.
- _____ (1981) Language, Meaning and Context. London: Fontana.
- Malinowski, B (1923) 'The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages', supplement to Ogden and Richards (1946).
- Mathews, P H (1974) Morphology. Cambridge: CUP.
- _____ (1981) Syntax. Cambridge: CUP.
- McFall, L (1982) The Enigma of The Hebrew Verbal System. Sheffield: Almond Press.
- Nida, E A (1964) Towards A Science of Translating. Leiden: Brill.
- Nida, E A and Taber, C R (1969) The Theory and Practice of Translation. Leiden: Brill.
- Ogden and Richards (1946) The Meaning of Meaning, 8th ed. London: RKP.
- Palmer, F R (1965) A Linguistic Study of The English Verb. London: Longman.
- _____ (1971) Grammar. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- _____ (1986) Mood and Modality. Cambridge: CUP.
- Parkinson, G H R, ed. (1968) The Theory of Meaning. Oxford: OUP.
- Parret, H, ed. (1974) Discussing Language. The Hague: Mouton.
- Peck, C (1981) A Survey of Grammatical Structures. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Pettit, P (1976) The Concept of Structuralism. Dublin: Gill and McMillan.
- Pike, K L and E G (1983) Text and Tagmeme, London: Frances Pinter.

- Potter, J and Wetherell, M (1987) Discourse and Social Psychology. London: Sage Publications.
- Pride, J B (1971) The Social Meaning of Language. London: OUP.
- Prince, G (1973) A Grammar of Stories. The Hague: Mouton.
- Quirk, R, Greenbaum, S, Leech, G, Svartik, J (1972) A Grammar of Contemporary English. London: Longman.
- Rauh, G, ed. (1983) Essays on Deixis. Tübingen: Günter Narr Verlag.
- Reinhart, T (1984) 'Principles of Gestalt Perception in The Temporal Organisation of Narrative Texts', Linguistics 22 (1984), pp 779-809.
- Richards, J C and Schmidt, R W (1983) 'Conversational Analysis' in Richards and Schmidt, eds (1983), pp 117-154.
- Richards, J C and Schmidt, R W, eds (1983) Language and Communication. London: Longman.
- Sacks, H, Schegloff, E A and Jefferson, G (1974) 'A Simplest Semantics for The Organisation of Turn-Taking in Conversation' Language 50 (1974), pp 696-735.
- Sampson, G (1980) Schools of Linguistics. London: Hutchinson.
- Sapir, E (1921) Language. New York: Harcourt, Brace.
- Saussure de, F (1916) Course in General Linguistics; reprinted 1974. London: Fontana.
- Saville-Troike, M (1982) The Ethnography of Communication. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sawyer, J F A (1972) Semantics in Biblical Research (Studies in Biblical Theology, Second Series, 24). London: SCM.
- Schegloff, E A (1968) 'Sequencing in Conversational Openings'.

- American Anthropology 70 (1968), pp 1075-1095.
- Scallan, R and S B H (1983) 'Face in Interethnic Communication' in Richards and Schmidt (1983), pp 156-188.
- Searle, J R (1969) Speech-Acts. Cambridge: CUP.
- Sells, P (1985) Lectures on Contemporary Syntactic Theories. Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information.
- Sgall, P, Hajicova, E and Panevova, J (1986) The Meaning of The Sentence in Its Semantic and Pragmatic Aspects. Dordrecht: D Reidel.
- Smith, N and Wilson, D (1979) Modern Linguistics: The Results of Chomsky's Revolution. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Somers, H L (1986) Valency and Case in Computational Linguistics. Edinburgh: EUP.
- Sperber, D, and Wilson, D (1986) Relevance: Communication and Cognition. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Stubbs, M (1983) Discourse Analysis. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Svartik, J (1966) On Voice in The English Verb (Janua Linguarum, Series Practica (3). The Hague: Mouton.
- Taylor, T J (1981) Linguistic Theory and Structural Stylistics. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Tomlin, R S (1986) Basic Word Order: Functional Principles. London: Croom Helm.
- Traugott, E C and Pratt, M L (1980) Linguistics for Students of Literature. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Tyler, S A (1984) The Said and The Unsaid. London: Academic Press.
- Uitti, K (1969) Linguistics and Literary Theory. Englewood

- Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.
- Ullmann, S (1962) Semantics. Oxford: Blackwell.
- _____ (1963) Meaning and Style. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Vachek, J (1966) The Linguistic School of Prague. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- _____ ed. (1984) A Prague School Reader. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Van Dijk, T (1972) Some Aspects of Text Grammars. The Hague: Mouton.
- _____ (1977) Text and Context: Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse. London: Longman.
- _____ (1985) Handbook of Discourse Analysis 4 vols London: Academic Press.
- Van Oosten, J (1968) The Nature of Subjects, Topics and Agents: A Cognitive Explanation. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.
- Van Peer, W (1986) Stylistics and Psychology. London: Croom Helm.
- Wallace, S (1982) 'Figure and Ground in 'The Interrelationship of Linguistic Categories' in Hopper (1982), pp 201-223.
- Wardhaugh, R (1985) How Conversation Works. Oxford: Blackwell.
- _____ ((1986) An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Werth, P, ed. (1981) Conversation and Discourse. London: Croom Helm.
- Whitehall, H (1951) 'From Linguistics to Criticism', Kenyon Review 13 (1951), pp 710-714.
- Whorf, B L (1956) Language, Thought and Reality: Selected Writings

- of Benjamin Lee Whorf. ed. J B Carroll, Cambridge, Mass: MIT.
- Willis, P and Jeffries, L (1982) 'Participant (Case) Roles and Lexical Analysis', Nottingham Linguistic Circular, pp 1-19.
- Winograd, T (1983) Language as a Cognitive Process, vol. 1: Syntax. Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley.

ADDENDA

- Jastrow, M, Jr. (1950) A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature. New York : Pardes.
- Meyer, R (1966) Hebräische Grammatik vol. 1. Berlin : Walter de Gruyter.
- Muraoka, T (1985) Emphatic Words and Structures in Biblical Hebrew. Jerusalem : Magnes Press.

II LITERARY THEORY AND PRACTICE

IIa STYLISTICS

- Anderson, J M and Macleod, N (1988) Edinburgh Studies in The English Language. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- Austin, T R (1979) 'Constraints on Syntactic Rules and The Style of Shelley's "Adonaïs": an Exercise in Style Criticism', in Freeman (1981a), pp 138-165.
- Banfield, A (1982) Unspeakable Sentences: Narration and Representation in The Language of Fiction. London: RKP.
- Barry, P (1988) 'The Limitations of Stylistics', Essays in Criticism vol. 38 (1988), pp 175-189.
- Bateson, F W (1967) 'Literature and Linguistics: Reply by F W Bateson' in Fowler (1971), pp 54-64.
- Birch, D and O'Toole, M (1988) Functions of Style. London: Frances Pinter.
- Bronzwaer, W J M (1970) Tense in The Novel. Gröningen: Wolters-Noordhoff.
- Burton, D (1980) Dialogue and Discourse. London: RKP.
- _____ (1982) 'Through Glass Darkly: through Dark Glasses' in Carter (1982), pp 195-214.
- Carter, R, ed. (1982) Language and Literature: An Introductory Reader in Stylistics. London: Allen and Unwin.
- _____ (1986) 'A Question of Interpretation: an Overview of Some Recent Developments in Stylistics' in D'Haen (1986),

pp 7-26.

Carter, R and Simpson, D, eds (1989) Language, Discourse and Literature. London: Unwin, Hyman.

Chapman, R (1973) Linguistics and Literature. London: Arnold.

Chatman, S, ed. (1971) Literary Style: A Symposium. London: OUP.

_____ (1972) The Later Style of Henry James. Oxford: Blackwell.

_____ ed. (1973) Approaches to Poetics. New York: Columbia University Press.

Chatman, S and Levin, S R, eds (1967) Essays on The Language of Literature. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Ching, M K L, Haley, M C & Lunsford, R F, eds (1980) Linguistic Perspectives on Literature. London: RKP.

Cluysenaar, A (1976) Introduction to Literary Stylistics. London: Batsford.

Crombie, W (1987) Free Verse and Prose Style. London: Croom Helm.

Crystal, D (1971) 'Objective and Subjective in Stylistic Analysis' in Kachru and Stahlke, eds (1972), pp 103-113.

Crystal, D and Davey, D (1969) Investigating English Style. London: Longman.

D'Haen, T, ed. (1986) Linguistics and The Study of Literature. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Dillon, G L (1978) Language Processing and The Reading of Literature. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

_____ (1981) Constructing Texts. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Enkvist, N E (1973) Linguistic Stylistics. The Hague: Mouton.

Enkvist, N E, Spencer, J and Gregory, M J, eds (1964)

Linguistics and Style. London: OUP.

Epstein, E L (1978) Language and Style. London: Methuen.

Fabb, N, Attridge, D; Durant, A and McCabe, C, eds (1987) The Linguistics of Writing. Manchester: MUP.

Fish, S E (1973) 'What is Stylistics and Why Are They Saying Such Terrible Things about It? in Fish (1980b), pp 69-96.

_____ (1980a) 'What is Stylistics and Why Are They Saying Such Terrible Things about It?' Part II in Fish (1980b), pp 247-267.

_____ (1980b) Is There A Text in This Class? Cambridge, Mass: London: Harvard University Press.

Fowler, R (1966) 'Linguistics, Stylistics; Criticism?' in Lingua 16 (1966), pp 153-165.

_____ (1971) The Languages of Literature. London: RKP.

_____ (1977) Linguistics and The Novel. London: Methuen.

_____ (1980) Linguistic Criticism. Oxford: OUP.

_____ (1981) Literature as Social Discourse. London: Batsford.

_____ (1986) 'Studying Literature as Language' in D'Haen (1986), pp 187-200.

_____ ed. (1966) Essays on Style and Language. London: RKP.

_____ ed. (1975) Style and Structure in Literature: Essays in the New Stylistics. Oxford: Blackwell.

Freeman, D C (1980) 'Preunderstanding: "To Autumn"' (Reply to Patterson [1979]) PMLA 95 (1980), PP 249-250.

_____ (1981) 'Keats: "To Autumn": Poetry as Process and Pattern' in Freeman, ed. (1981), pp 83-99.

- _____ ed. (1970) Linguistics and Literary Style. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- _____ ed. (1981) Essays in Modern Stylistics. London: Methuen.
- Garvin, P L, ed. (1958) A Prague Reader in Aesthetics, Literary Structure and Style. Washington D.C.: American University Language Center.
- Halliday, M A K (1964b) 'The Linguistic Study of Texts' in Chatman and Levin (1967), pp 217-223 (revised version).
- _____ (1964a) 'Descriptive Linguistics in Literary Studies', reprinted in Freeman (1970), pp 25-39.
- _____ (1971) 'Linguistic Function and Literary Style: An Enquiry into the Language of William Golding's "The Inheritors"' in Chatman (1971), pp 326-400.
- _____ (1982) 'The De-automatization of Grammar: from Priestley's "An Inspector Calls" in Ib Anderson (1982), pp 129-159.
- _____ (1988) 'Poetry as Scientific Discourse: the Nuclear Sections of Tennyson's "Im memoriam"' in Birch and O'Toole (1988), pp 31-44.
- Hasan, R (1971) 'Rime and Reason in Literature' in Chatman, ed. (1971), pp 299-326.
- Hirsch, E D, Jr (1975) 'Stylistics and Synonymity' in Hirsch (1976), pp 50-73.
- Hough, G (1969) Style and Stylistics. London: RKP.
- Jakobson, R (1960) 'Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics' in Sebok (1960), pp 350-377.

- _____ (1981) Selected Writings, vol. III ed. S Rudy. The Hague: Mouton (includes his well-known stylistic analyses, especially: Shakespeare's Verbal Art in "The Expense of Spirit" [with L G Jones], pp 284-303: On The Verbal Art of William Blake and Other Poet Painters, pp 322-344: Les Chats de Baudelaire [with C Lévi-Strauss], pp 447-464).
- Kachru, B B and Stahlke, F W, eds (1972) Current Trends in Stylistics, Edmonton, Alberta: Linguistic Research, Inc.
- Leech, G N (1979) A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry. Harlow: Longman.
- _____ (1986) 'Stylistics' in van Dijk (1985), pp 39-57.
- Leech, G N, and Short, M H, eds (1981) Style in Fiction. Harlow: Longman.
- Levin, S R (1962) Linguistic Structures in Poetry. The Hague: Mouton.
- Macleod, N (1982) 'The Stylistic Analysis of Poetic Texts' in Anderson (1982), pp 239-275.
- _____ (unpublished) Text and Discourse in the Fiction of Kingsley Amis.
- Mosher, H F, Jr. (1984) Review of 'Unspeakable Sentences: Narration and Representation in The Language of Fiction' by A. Banfield in Style, vol. 18 (1984), pp 229-235.
- Mukarovskiy, J (1958) 'Standard Language and Poetic Language' in Garvin (1964), pp 19-35.
- Nash, W (1980) Designs in Prose. London: Longman.
- _____ (1985) 'Sound and the Pattern of Poetic Meaning' in D'Haen (1985), pp 128-151.

- Ohmann, R (1964) 'Generative Grammars and The Concept of Style' in Freeman (1970), pp 259-278.
- Patterson, A (1979) 'How to Load and ... Bend: Syntax and Interpretation in Keats "To Autumn"', PLMA 94 (1979), pp 449-458.
- Riffaterre, M (1966) 'Describing Poetic Structures: Two Approaches to Baudelaire's "Les Chats"' Yale French Studies 36-37 (1966), pp 200-242.
- _____ (1973) 'Interpretation and Descriptive Poetry: A Reading of Wordsworth's "Yew Trees"' in Young (1981), pp 103-132.
- Sebeok, T A, ed. (1960) Style in Language. Cambridge, Mass: MIT.
- Sinclair, J McH (1966) 'Taking a Poem to Pieces' in Fowler (1966), pp 68-81.
- _____ (1982) 'Lines about Lines' in Carter (1982), pp 163-176.
- Spitzer, L (1948) Linguistics and Literary History: Essays in Stylistics. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Thorne, J P (1970) 'Generative Grammar and Stylistic Analysis' in Ib Lyons (1970), pp 185-197.
- Toolan, M J (1988) Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction. London: RKP.
- Van Dyk, T A (1985) Discourse and Literature. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Vendler, H (1966) 'Review of Roger Fowler's "Essays on Style and Language"', Essays in Criticism 16 (1966), pp 457-463.
- Werth, P (1976) 'Roman Jakobson's Verbal Analysis of Poetry',

Journal of Linguistics, vol. 12 (1976), pp 21-73.

Widdowson, H G (1975) Stylistics and The Teaching of Literature.

London: Longman.

IIB OTHER

- Abrams, M H (1953) The Mirror and The Lamp. Oxford: OUP.
- Althusser, L (1969) For Marx. Harmondsworth: Allen Lane.
- Auerbach, E (1953) Mimesis. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Bakhtin, M M (1975) Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Archis.
- _____ (1981) The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays, ed. M Holquist Cluster: University of Texas Press.
- Bal, M (1985) Narratology: Introduction to The Theory of Narrative. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Bann, S and Bowlit, J E, eds (1973) Russian Formalism. Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press.
- Barry, P (1980) 'The Enactment Fallacy', Essays in Criticism 30 (1980), pp 95-104.
- Barthes, R (1953) Le Degré Zéro de l'Écriture repr. 1972. Paris: Seuil.
- _____ (1957) Mythologies repr. 1970. Paris: Seuil.
- _____ (1964) Essaies Critiques. Paris: Seuil.
- _____ (1970) S/Z. Paris: Seuil.
- _____ (1971) 'Style and Its Image' in Chatman (1971), pp 3-15.
- _____ (1973) Le Plaisir du Texte. Paris: Seuil.
- _____ (1977) Image, Music, Text, essays selected and translated by S Heath. London: Fontana.
- _____ (1982) A Barthes Reader, ed. S Sontag. London: Jonathan

Cape.

Belsey, C (1980) Critical Practice. London: Methuen.

Bennett, T (1979) Formalism and Marxism. London: Methuen.

Berendsen, M (1984) 'The Teller and The Observer: Narration and Focalisation in Narrative Texts', in Style 18, 2 (1984), pp 140-158.

Booth, W (1961) The Rhetoric of Fiction. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Brooks, C (1947) The Well-Wrought Urn. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Butler, C S (1984) Interpretation, Deconstruction and Ideology. Oxford: Clarendon.

Carter, R A (1987 'Is There A Literary Language?' in Ia Steele, etc. eds (1978), pp 431-450.

Cohn, D (1978) Transparent Minds. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Craig, D, ed. (1975) Marxists on Literature: An Anthology. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Culler, J (1975) Structuralist Poetics. London: RKP.

_____ (1976) Barthes. London: Fontana.

Daiches, D (1981) Critical Approaches to Literature. London: Longman.

Detweiler, R, ed. (1985) Reader Response Approaches to Biblical and Secular Texts (Semeia 31). Missoula: Scholars Press.

Eagleton, T (1976a) Criticism and Ideology. London: New Left Books.

_____ (1976b) Marxism and Literary Criticism. London:

Methuen.

_____ (1984) The Function of Criticism. London: New Left Books.

Eco, U (1981) The Rôle of The Reader. London: Hutheson.

Eisenstein, S M (1949) Film Form: Essays in Film Theory, ed.

J Leyda. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

_____ (1963) The Film Sense ed. J Leyda. London: Faber and Faber.

Eliot, T S (1975) Selected Prose, ed. F Kermode. London: Faber and Faber.

Empson, W (1930) Seven Types of Ambiguity, repr. 1961.

Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Erlich, V (1955) Russian Formalism: History, Doctrine. The Hague: Mouton.

Fish, S E (1972) Self-Consuming Artefacts. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Frye, N (1957) Anatomy of Criticism. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

_____ (1982) The Great Code. London: RKP.

Gadamer, H G (1975) Truth and Method. New York: Seaburg Press.

Genette, G (1980) Narrative Discourse. Oxford: Blackwell.

_____ (1983) Nouveau Discours du Récit. Paris: Seuil.

Groupe μ (1970) Rhétorique Générale. Paris: Larousse.

Hawkes, T (1977) Structuralism and Semiotics. London: Methuen.

Hawthorn, J M (1973) Identity and Relationship: Contribution to Marxist Theory of Literary Criticism. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

- Hirsch, E D, Jr. (1967) Validity in Interpretation. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- _____ (1976) The Aims of Interpretation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Holub, R C (1984) Reception Theory. London: Methuen.
- Hopkins, G M (1865) 'On the Origin of Beauty' in Journals and Papers of Gerald Manley Hopkins, ed. H House/G Storey (1959). London: OUP, pp 86-114.
- _____ (1865) 'Poetic diction' in A Hopkins Reader, rev. ed. J Pick (1966). New York: Doubleday, pp 135-137.
- Ingarden, R (1973) The Cognition of The Literary Work of Art. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press.
- Iser, W (1978) The Act of Reading. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Jameson, F (1972) the Prison-House of Language: A Critical Account of Structuralism and Russian Formalism. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- _____ (1981) the Political Unconscious. London: Methuen.
- Jauss, H R (1982) Toward an Aesthetic of Reception. Brighton: Harvester Press.
- Jefferson, A and Robey, D, eds (1982) Modern Literary Theory. London: Batsford.
- Kermode, F (1967) The Sense of an Ending. London: OUP.
- _____ (1979) The Genesis of Secrecy: On The Interpretation of Narrative. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Lanser, S S (1981) The Narrative Act: Point of View in Prose Fiction. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

- Lavers, A (1982) Roland Barthes: Structuralism and After.
London: Methuen.
- Leach, G (1970) Lévi-Strauss. London: Fontana.
- Lentricchia, F (1980) After The New Criticism. London: Methuen.
- Leavis, F R (1948) The Great Tradition repr. 1962. Harmondsworth:
Penguin.
- Lemon, L T and Reis, M J, eds and translators. (1965) Russian
Formalist Criticism: Four Essays. Lincoln: University of
Nebraska Press.
- Lévi-Strauss, C (1968) Structural Anthropology. London: Allen
Lane.
- Lodge, D (1984) Language of Fiction, rev. ed. London: RKP.
- Lubbock, P (1921) The Craft of Fiction. London: Jonathan Cape.
- MacCabe, C (1985) Theoretical Essays. Manchester: MUP.
- MacDonnell, D (1986) Theories of Discourse. Oxford: Blackwell.
- McLellan, D (1986) Ideology. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Macherey, P 1978) A Theory of Literary Practice. London: RKP.
- Martin, G (1975) Language, Truth and Poetry. Edinburgh: EUP.
- Norris, C (1982) Deconstruction, Theory and Practice. London:
Methuen.
- Nowottny, W (1965) The Language Poets Use. London: Athlone Press.
- O'Toole, L M and Shukman, A, eds (1977) Formalist Theory
(Russian Poetics in Translation, vol. 4). Oxford: Holdan
Books.
- Pascal, R (1977) The Dual Voice. Manchester: MUP.
- Pêcheux, M (1982) Language, Semantics and Ideology. London:
MacMillan.

- Pratt, M L (1977) Toward A Speech-Act Theory of Literary Discourse. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Prince, G (1982) Narratology. Amsterdam: Mouton.
- Propp, V (1928) Morphology of The Folktale, 2nd English edition, 1968. Austin: University of Texas.
- Ray, W (1984) Literary Meaning. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Richards, I A (1924) Principles of Literary Criticism repr. 1967. London: RKP.
- _____ (1929) Practical Criticism repr. 1982. London: RKP.
- _____ (1970) Poetries and Sciences, reissue of 'Science and Poetry' (1926). London: RKP.
- _____ (1974a) Poetries: Their Media and Ends, ed. Eaton, T. Eaton. The Hague: Mouton.
- _____ (1974b) 'Linguistics into Poetics' in I A Richards (1974a).
- Ricoeur, P (1978) 'The Narrative Function', in Semeia 13 (1978). Missoula: Scholars Press.
- _____ (1986) The rule of Metaphor. London: RKP.
- Riffaterre, M (1980) Semiotics of Poetry. London: Methuen.
- Rimman, S (1977) The Concept of Ambiguity - The Example of James. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rimmon-Keenan, S (1983) Narrative Fiction. London: Methuen.
- Ringbom, H, ed. (1975) Style and Text: Studies Presented to Nils Erik Enkvist. Stockholm: Sprökförlaget Skriptor AB and Åbo Akademi.
- Scholes, R (1985) Textual Power. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Scholes, R and Kellogg, R (1970) The Nature of Narrative. Oxford:

OUP.

Shapiro, M, ed. (1984) Language and Poetics. Oxford: Blackwell.

Shelley, P B (1965) 'A Defence of Poetry' in the Complete Works of Shelley, ed. R Ingpen and W E Peck, vol. 7. New York/
London: Gordian Press/Ernest Bennet, pp 109-140.

Shukman, A, ed. (1983) Bakhtin School Papers (Russian Poetics in Translation, vol. 10). Oxford: Holdan Books.

Stanzel, F K (1984) A Theory of Narrative. Cambridge:CUP.

Steiner, P (1984) Russian Formalism: A Metapoetics. Ithaca:
Cornell University Press.

Suleiman, S R and Crosman, I (1980) The Reader in The Text.
Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Tallack, D (1987) Literary Theory at Work: Three Texts. London:
Batsford.

Taylor, R, ed. (1982) The Poetics of Cinema (Russian Poetics in Translation, vol. 9). Oxford: Holdan Books.

Thompson, J B (1984) Studies in The Theory of Ideology. Cambridge:
Polity Press.

Thompson, K (1950) Eisenstein's 'Ivan the Terrible': A Neo-
Formalist Analysis. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton
University Press.

Todorov, T (1981) Introduction to Poetics. Brighton: Harvester
Press.

Tomkins, J P, ed. (1980) Reader-Response Criticism. Baltimore:
Johns Hopkins University Press.

Uspensky, B (1978) A Poetics of Composition . Berkeley: University
of California Press.

Vološinov, V N (1986) Marxism and the Philosophy of Language.

Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Wellek, R and Warren, A (1963), 3rd ed. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Wimsatt, W K (1954) The Verbal Icon. Lexington, Kentucky:

University of Kentucky Press.

_____ ed. (1972) Versification. New York: New York

University Press.

Young, R, ed. (1981) Untying The Text. London: RKP.

Zhirmunskiy (1966), Introduction to Metrics: The Theory of

Verse. the Hague: Mouton.

III BIBLICAL

- Ackroyd, P R (1968) Exile and Restoration. London: SCM.
- Allen, L C (1983) Psalms 101-150. WBC Waco, Texas: Word Books.
- Alter, R (1981) The Art of Biblical Narrative. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Andersen, A A (1972) The Book of Psalms, 2 vols, NCBC, London: Morgan, Marshall and Scott.
- Anderson, G W, ed. (1979) Tradition and Interpretation. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Armeding, C E (1983) The Old Testament and Criticism. Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans.
- Auerbach, E (1953) 'Odysseus' Scar' in IIb Auerbach (1953), pp 3-23.
- Barr, J (1961) The Semantics of Biblical Language. Oxford: OUP.
- _____ (1968) Comparative Philology and The Text of The Old Testament. London: SCM.
- _____ (1983) Holy Scripture, Canon, Authority, Criticism. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Barthes, R (1988) 'The Structural Analysis of A Narrative: Apropos of Acts 10-11' in The Semiotic Challenge (1988). Oxford: Blackwell, pp 217-245.
- _____ (1972) 'The Struggle with The Angel: Textual Analysis of Genesis 32:22-32 in IIb Barthes (1977), pp 125-141; also in Barthes (1988), pp 246-260.
- Barton, G A (1908) A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Ecclesiastes, ICC. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.

- Barton, J (1984) 'Classifying Biblical Criticism', JSOT 29 (1984), pp 19-35.
- Berlin, A (1983) Poetics and Interpretation of Biblical Narrative. Sheffield: Almond.
- _____ (1985) The Dynamics of Biblical Parallelism. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Beyerlin, W, ed. (1978) Near Eastern Religious Texts Relating to The Old Testament. London: SCM.
- Boman, T (1966) Hebrew Thought Compared with Greek. London: SCM.
- Briggs, C A and E G (1906/07) A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The Book of Psalms, 2 vols. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Brockington, L H (1973) The Hebrew Text of The Old Testament. OUP/CUP.
- Brueggemann, W (1984) 'Unity and Dynamic in the Isaianic Tradition', JSOT 29 (1984), pp 89-107.
- Gray B G** (1915) The Forms of Hebrew Poetry. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Burney, C F (1903) Notes on The Hebrew Text of The Books of Kings. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Caird, G B (1980) The Language and Imagery of The Bible. London: Duckworth.
- Calloud, J (1973) Structural Analysis of Narrative. Missoula: Scholars Press.
- Carroll, R P (1981) From Chaos to Covenant. London: SCM.
- _____ (1986) Jeremiah, OTL. London: SCM.
- Cassuto, V (1961) The Documentary Hypothesis and The Composition of The Pentateuch. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.

_____ (1961/64) A Commentary on The Book of Genesis, 2 vols.
Jerusalem: Magnes Press.

Childs, B S (1967) Isaiah and The Assyrian Crisis (Studies in
Biblical Theology Second Series, 3). London: SCM.

_____ (1974) Exodus., OTL. London: SCM.

_____ (1979) Introduction to The Old Testament as Scripture.
London: SCM.

Clements, R E (1980a) Isaiah 1-39. NCBC. London: Marshall, Morgan
and Scott.

_____ (1980b) Isaiah and The Deliverance of Jerusalem (JSOT
Supplement Series 13). Sheffield: JSOT.

Clines, D J A (1976) I, He, We, They: A Literary Approach to
Isaiah 53 (JSOT Supplement Series 1). Sheffield: JSOT.

_____ (1978) The Theme of The Pentateuch (JSOT Supplement
Series 10). Sheffield: JSOT.

Clines, D J A; Gunn, D and Hauser, A J, eds (1982) Art and
Meaning: Rhetoric in Biblical Literature (JSOT Supplement
Series 19). Sheffield: JSOT.

Coates, G W (1988) Moses (JSOT Supplement Series 57). Sheffield:
JSOT.

Cragie, P C (1983) Psalms 1-50 WBC Waco, Texas: Ward Books.

Crenshaw, J L (1988) Ecclesiastes OTL. London: SCM.

Culley, B C (1975) Classical Hebrew Narrative (Semeia 3).
Missoula: Scholars Press.

_____ (1976) Studies in The Structure of Hebrew Narrative.
Missoula: Scholars Press.

Dahood, M (1966-70) Psalms 3 vols. (Anchor Bible). New York:

Doubleday.

Davies, E W (1981) Prophecy and Ethics (JSOT Supplement Series 16). Sheffield: JSOT.

Driver, S R (1896) A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy, ICC. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.

_____ (1913) Notes on The Hebrew Text and The Topography of The Books of Samuel, 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon.

Duhm, B (1960) Das Buch Jesaia, 5th ed. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.

Eaton, J (1979) Festal Drama in Deutero-Isaiah. London: SPCK.

Eaton, M A (1983) Ecclesiastes. Leicester: IVP.

Eichrodt, W (1961-67) Theology of The Old Testament, 2 vols. London: SCM.

Eissfeldt, O (1965) The Old Testament: an Introduction. Oxford: Blackwell.

Elliger, K and Rudolph, W, eds (1967-77) Biblica Hebraeica Stuttgartensia. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung.

Emerton, J A (1987-88) 'An Examination of Some Attempts to Defend The Unity of The Flood Narrative in Genesis', Vetus Testamentum 37 (1987), pp 401-420, and 38 (1988), pp 1-21.

Engnell, I (1970) Critical Essays on The Old Testament. London: SPCK.

Fokkelman, J P (1981) Narrative Art and Poetry in The Books of Samuel, vol. 1: King David. Assen: Van Gorcum.

_____ (1986) Narrative Art and Poetry in The Books of Samuel vol. 2: The Crossing Fates. Assen: Van Gorcum.

Fox, M V (1988), 'Qohelet 1:4' JSOT 40 (1988), pp 104-110.

- Gibson, J C L (1981) Genesis vol. 2 (Daily Study Bible).
Edinburgh/Philadelphia: the Saint Andrew Press/Westminster Press.
- Goldingay, J (1981) Approaches to Old Testament Interpretation.
Leicester: IVP.
- _____ (1984) God's Prophet, God's Servant. Exeter:
Paternoster.
- Good, E M (1981) Irony in The Old Testament repr. Sheffield:
Almond.
- Gottwald, N K (1980) The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of The
Religion of Liberated Israel 1250-1050 BC. London: SCM.
- _____ ed. (1983) The Bible and Liberation. New York:
Orbis Books.
- Grant, M R, and Tracy, D (1984) A Short History of the Inter-
pretation of the Bible, 2nd ed. London: SCM.
- Gray, G B (1912) A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Isaiah
I-XXVII ICC. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Gray, J (1974) I and II Kings, 2nd ed. OTL. London: SCM.
- Green, G, ed. (1987) Scriptural Authority and Narrative Inter-
pretation. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Gunkel, H (1902) Genesis, 2nd ed. Göttingen: Vanderhoek and
Ruprecht.
- Gunn, D M (1978) The Story of King David: Genre and Interpretation
(JSOT Supplement Series 6). Sheffield: JSOT.
- _____ (1980) The Fate of King Saul: An Interpretation of a
Biblical Story (JSOT Supplement Series 14). Sheffield: JSOT.
- _____ (1983) 'Review of "The Art of Biblical Narrative"' by

- R Alter in JSOT 29 (1984), pp 109-116.
- Gunneweg, A H J (1978) Understanding The Old Testament. London: SCM.
- Hayes, J H and Holladay, C R (1982) Biblical Exegesis. London: SCM.
- Hayes, J H and Miller, J M, eds (1977) Israelite and Judean History. London: SCM.
- Heaton, E W (1964) The Old Testament Prophets. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Herrmann, S (1931) A History of Israel in Old Testament Times, 2nd ed. London: SCM.
- Hertzberg, H W (1932) Der Prediger Leipzig: A Deichertsche Verlagsbuchhandlung.
- _____ (1964) I and II Samuel, OTL. London: SCM.
- Hooke, S H (1947) In The Beginning. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Jacob , E (1958) Theology of The Old Testament. London: Hodder & Stoughton.
- Jastrow, M, Jr. (1919) A Gentle Cynic. Philadelphia: J B Lippincott.
- Jobling, D (1978-86) The Sense of Biblical Narrative, 2 vols, vol. 1 repr. 1986 (JSOT Supplement Series 7 and 39). Sheffield: JSOT.
- Johnson, A M, Jr. (1979) ed. Structuralism and Biblical Hermeneutics. Pittsburg/Edinburgh: Pickwick/T & T Clark.
- Jones, G H (1984) 1 and 2 Kings, vol 2, NCBC. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott.
- Kaiser, O (1975) Introduction to The Old Testament. Oxford:

Blackwell.

_____ (1983) Isaiah 1-12, 2nd ed. London: SCM.

Kessler, M (1980) 'An Introduction to Rhetorical Criticism of The Bible: Prolegomena', Semitics 7 (1980), pp 1-27.

_____ (1982) 'A Methodological Setting for Rhetorical Criticism' in Clines etc., eds (1982), pp 1-19.

Knight, G A F (1964) A Christian Theology of The Old Testament, 2nd ed. London: SCM.

_____ (1984) Servant Theology, A Commentary on The Book of Isaiah 40-55. Edinburgh: Handsel Press.

Koch, K (1969) The Growth of The Biblical Tradition: The Form-Critical Method. London: A & C Black.

Kraeling, E G (1955) The Old Testament Since The Reformation. London: Lutterworth.

Kugel, J L (1981) The Idea of Biblical Poetry. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Leach, E and Aycock, D A (1983) Structural Interpretation of Biblical Myth. Cambridge: CUP.

Lindblom, J (1962) Prophecy in Ancient Israel. Oxford: Blackwell.

Longacre, R E (1985) 'Interpreting Biblical Stories' in Ila van Dijk ed. (1985), pp 169-185.

McKane, W (1963) I and II Samuel TBC. London: SCM.

McKim, D K, ed. (1986) A Guide to Contemporary Hermeneutics. Grand Rapids, Michagan: Eerdmanns.

Magonet, J (1983) Form and Meaning: Studies in Literary Techniques in The Book of Jonah, 2nd ed. Sheffield: Almond.

Mauchline, J (1962) Isaiah 1-39, TBC. London: SCM.

- _____ (1971) 1 and 2 Samuel, NBC. London: Oliphants.
- Mayes, A O H (1983) The Story of Israel Between Settlement and Exile. London: SCM.
- _____ (1979) Deuteronomy, NCBC. London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott.
- Miscall, P D (1983) The Workings of Old Testament Narrative. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Mowinckel, S (1962) The Psalms in Israel's Worship, 2 vols. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Mueller-Vollmer, K, ed. (1986) The Hermeneutics Reader. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Muilenberg, J (1969) 'Form Criticism and Beyond', Journal of Biblical Literature 88 (1969), pp 1-18.
- Nelson, R D (1981) The Double Redaction of The Deuteronomistic History (JSOT Supplement Series 18). Sheffield: JSOT.
- Nicholson, E W (1967) Deuteronomy and Tradition. Oxford: Blackwell.
- _____ (1986) God and His People: Covenant and Theology in The Old Testament. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Nineham, D (1976) The Use and Abuse of The Bible. London: SPCK.
- North, C R (1948) The Suffering Servant in Deutero-Isaiah. Oxford: OUP.
- _____ (1964) Isaiah 40-55 2nd ed. TBC. London: SCM.
- _____ (1964) The Second Isaiah. Oxford: OUP.
- Noth, M (1981) The Deuteronomistic History (JSOT Supplement Series 15). Sheffield: JSOT.
- _____ (1962) Exodus. London: SCM.

- O'Connor, M P (1980) Hebrew Verse Structure. Winona Lake: Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- Oesterley, W O E (1939) The Psalms, 2 vols. London: SPCK.
- Ogden, G S (1986) 'The Interpretation of dōr in Ecclesiastes 1:4', JSOT 54 (1986), pp 91-92.
- Ollenberger, B C (1987) Zion City of The Great God (JSOT Supplement 41). Sheffield: JSOT.
- Orlinsky, H M and Snaith, N H (1967) Studies in The Second Part of the Book of Isaiah. Leiden: Brill.
- Patte, D (1976) What Is Structural Exegesis? Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Patte, D and A (1978) Structural Exegesis: from Theory to Practice. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Polzin, R and Robertson, D, eds (1977) Studies in The Book of Job (Semeia 7). Missoula: Scholars Press.
- von Rad, G (1962-1965) Old Testament Theology, 2 vols. Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd.
- _____ (1963) Genesis, OTL. London: SCM.
- _____ (1966) Deuteronomy, OTL. London: SCM.
- _____ (1972) Wisdom in Israel. London: SCM.
- Rahlfs, A, ed. (1965) Septuaginta, 8th ed. 2 vols, Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt.
- Reventlow, H G (1985) Problems of Old Testament Theology in The Twentieth Century. London: SCM.
- Ricoeur, P (1980) Essays on Biblical Interpretation, ed. and with an introduction by L S Mudge. Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Ringgren, H (1966) Israelite Religion. London: SPCK.

- Robertson, D (1977) The Old Testament and The Literary Critic.
Philadelphia: Fortress Press.
- Robinson, J M and Cobb, B C, Jr, eds (1964) The New Hermeneutic.
New York: Harper and Row.
- Robinson, T H (1947) The Poetry of The Old Testament. London:
Duckworth.
- Rowley, H H (1967) Worship in Ancient Israel. London: SPCK.
_____ ed. (1950) Studies in Old Testament Prophecy.
Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Sawyer, J F A (1977) From Moses to Patmos. London: SPCK.
_____ (1984) Isaiah vol.1. Daily Study Bible. Edinburgh/
Philadelphia. The Saint Andrew Press/Westminster Press.
- Skinner, J (1930, 2nd ed.) A Critical and Exegetical Commentary
on Genesis ICC. 2nd ed. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Smith, H P (1912) A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on The
Books of Samuel. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Spurrell, G J (1896) Notes on The Text of Genesis, 2nd ed.
Oxford: Clarendon.
- Sternberg, M (1985) The Poetics of Biblical Narrative: Ideological
Literature and the Drama of Reading. Bloomington: Indiana
University Press.
- Stuhlmacher, P (1979) Historical Criticism and Theological
Interpretation of Scripture. London: SPCK.
- Tate, M E (1983) The Psalms 51-100 WBC. Waco: Texas Word Books.
- Thistleton, A C (1980) The Two Horizons. Exeter: Paternoster.
- Thomas, D W, ed. (1961) Documents from Old Testament Times. New
York: Harper and Row.

- Tsevat, M (1955) A Study of The Language of The Biblical Psalms. Philadelphia: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Vawter, B (1973) The Conscience of Israel. London: Steed & Ward.
- Watson, W G E (1984) Classical Hebrew Poetry: A Guide to Its Techniques (JSOT Supplement Series 26). Sheffield: JSOT.
- Watters, W R (1976) Formula Criticism and the Poetry of The Old Testament. Berlin: Wattenberg & Gruyter.
- Westermann, C (1967) Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech. London: Lutterworth.
- _____ (1969) Isaiah 40-66, OTL. London: SCM.
- _____ (1986) Genesis 12-36. Minneapolis: Augsburg.
- Whybray, R N (1975) Isaiah 40-66, NCBC. London: Marshall, Morgan and Scott.
- _____ (1978) Thanksgiving for A Liberated Prophet (JSOT Supplement Series 4). Sheffield: JSOT.
- _____ (1987) The Making of The Pentateuch (JSOT Supplement Series 53). Sheffield: JSOT.
- _____ (1988) 'Ecclesiastes 1:5-7 and the Wonders of Nature' JSOT 41 (1988), pp 105-112.
- Weingreen, J (1982) Introduction to The Critical Study of The Text of The Hebrew Bible. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Weiser, A (1962) The Psalms, OTL. London: SCM.
- Wellhausen, J (1885) Prolegomena to The History of Israel, repr. 1957. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.
- Westcott, B F and Hart, F J A, eds (1890) The New Testament in The Original Greek. London: MacMillan.
- Whitehouse, O C (1908) Isaiah XL-LXVI. Edinburgh: T & T Clark.

- Wolff, HW (1974) Anthropology of The Old Testament. London: SCM.
- Wonneberger, R (1984) Leitfaden zur Biblica Hebraica. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.
- Würthwein, E (1980) The Text of The Old Testament. London: SCM.
- Yoder, P B (1972) 'Biblical Hebrew' in IIB Wimsatt (1972), pp 52-65.
- Young, R (1939) Analytic Concordance to The Bible (original edition 1879). London: Lutterworth.

ADDENDA

- Carmichael, C M (1974) The Laws of Deuteronomy. New York : Ithaca Press.
- Fox, M V (1989) Qohelet and his Contradictions. Sheffield : Almond Press.
- Gordis, R (1955) Koholeth - The Man and his World. New York : Bloch.
- Murphy, R E, Bailey, L R and Furnish, V P, eds (1983) Wisdom Literature and Psalms. Nashville : Abingdon.
- Weinfeld, M (1972) Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic School. London : OUP.